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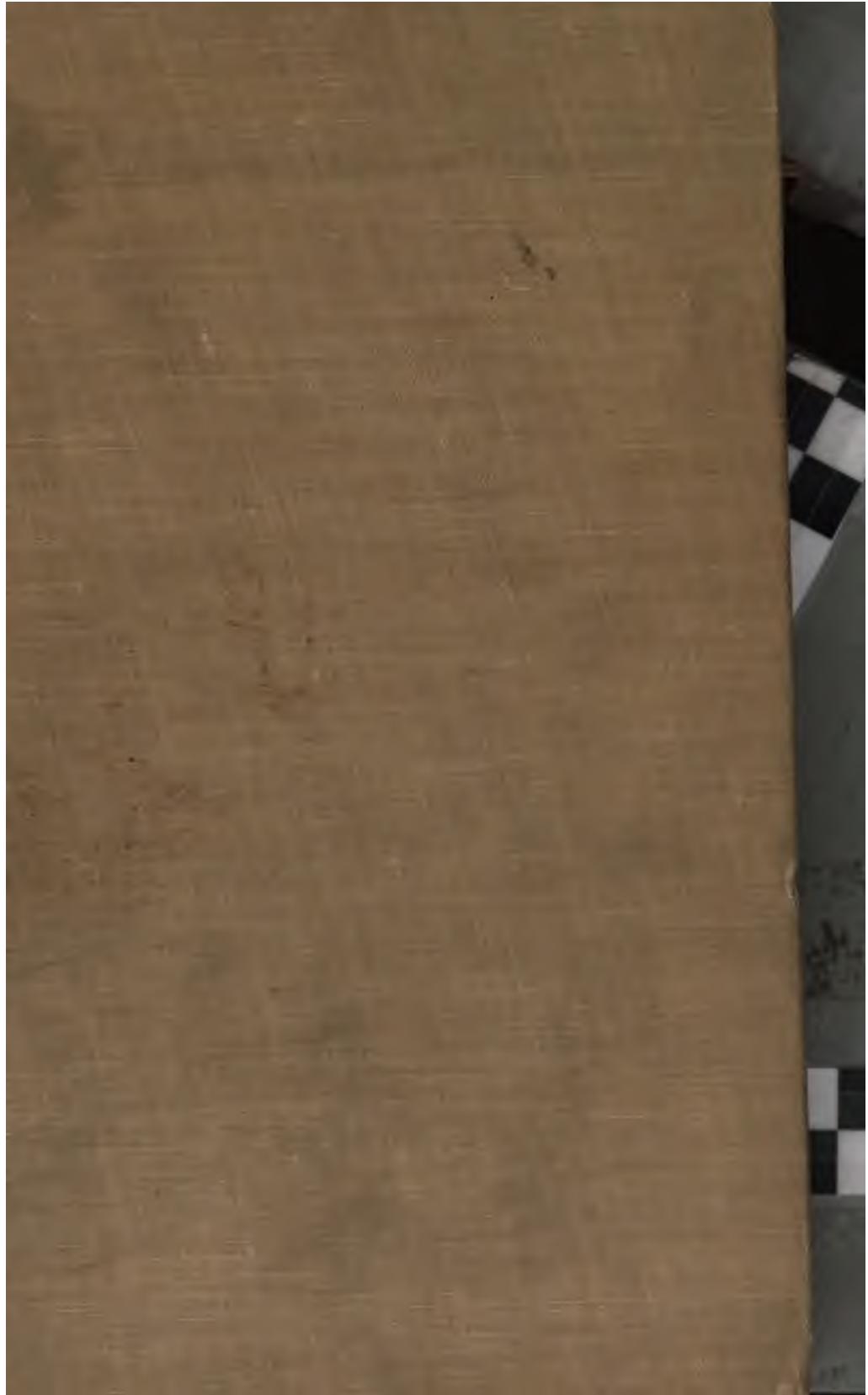
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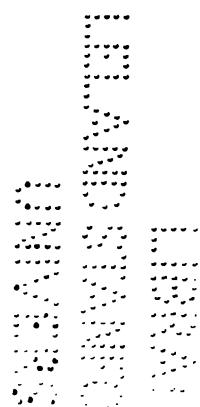
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[V. II]

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
DETROIT CONFERENCE FOR
GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT AND THE
NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

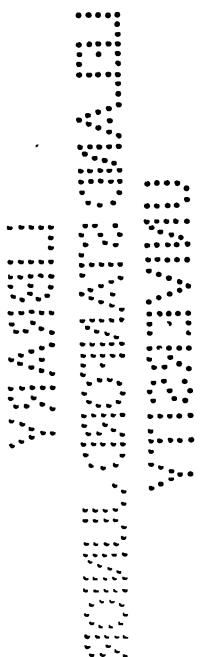
Held April 22, 23 and 24, 1903
at Detroit, Michigan

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, EDITOR



PHILADELPHIA
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
1903

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PREFACE

It is a matter of great difficulty, and at times one of practical impossibility, to estimate the extent and value of a particular effort at improvement. This is peculiarly true of the work of an organization like the National Municipal League, and yet evidence is accumulating that its persistent and carefully planned campaign in behalf of a larger consideration of the municipal problem and of higher standards of municipal conduct and administration, is bearing fruit.

Frequently attention has been called to the reports of the League's activities to be found in the columns of the daily, the weekly, and the monthly press ; and this is indeed an important and suggestive indication, which shows no sign of abatement. The periodical press, however, affords two other significant indications of the effectiveness of the League's educational work. In the first place, in their republication of League matter. It very often happens, and especially during the past year, that the papers read at the annual meetings or issued ad interim are republished as special features, thus giving them a newer and larger audience and oftentimes a repointing. In the second place, they are to be found reproduced in editorial utterances, clearly showing how they have influenced the thoughts of those who constantly busy themselves in molding public thought.

The work of the League is sinking deeper and deeper into the thought of the time as it touches municipal governmental problems. This is shown in the direction just mentioned. It is also to be seen in the occasional literature and in the lengthening list of books dealing with this subject. It is to be seen in reports of various kinds ; in the proceedings of similar bodies ; in the deliberations of charter commissions and various

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public bodies. All this is most encouraging, but it increases very greatly the responsibility of those in charge of the League's work ; and each succeeding volume is put out with increasing diffidence, because of the position accorded preceding ones.

The present one is made up in almost equal parts of descriptive matter and a discussion of the fundamental questions involved. Both are important and deserve the attention of students and public - spirited citizens. The discussions of nomination reform, of instruction in municipal branches, and of municipal accounting and statistics are particularly timely. The attention already given them shows that they are appreciated and having their effect. It has been the League's constant aim to produce a body of literature of permanent value ; and the fact that there is a steady demand for the earlier volumes shows that this end has in a measure been attained. To maintain ideals, and to realize them, has ever been its constant aim. Whether we have succeeded it is not for us to say ; but if the results are commensurate with our efforts and aspirations, we may conclude that we have not entirely labored in vain.

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NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
AND
ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE
FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT
HELD AT
DETROIT and ANN ARBOR, April 22, 23 and 24, 1903

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The opening session was held in the Turkish Room of Hotel Cadillac, Detroit, at 3 P. M. Wednesday, April 22, 1903.

The meeting was called to order by the First Vice-president, Mr. Charles Richardson, of Philadelphia, in the absence of President Carter.

MR. RICHARDSON: I have to call the meeting to order in the absence of Mr. Carter, which we all very much regret. We have a letter from him, which I will ask the Secretary to read.

MR. WOODRUFF: Mr. Carter had fully intended to be present and had looked forward with a great deal of interest to his visit here, and regrets at the last moment that he is unable to be present. He writes as follows:

NEW YORK, April 20, 1903.

Dear Mr. Woodruff:

I am suffering from an attack of sleeplessness, and, though quite well otherwise, experience has taught me that I must, when thus affected, carefully avoid all such things as evening meetings, dinners, etc., where I am called upon to speak.

Mr. Carter's Letter. I must, therefore, stay away from Detroit. I regret this for many reasons, but at my time of life prudence must be consulted.

I hope you will not choose me again for President. It will be more or less uncertain at all times whether I shall be able to attend the annual conferences, and I hate to disappoint expectations.

Yours very truly,

JAMES C. CARTER.

MR. WOODRUFF: The Governor, who was to have made an introductory address, writes that he regrets that public business will not permit him to be present.

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MR. RICHARDSON: I find, on the program, that we are to be honored with an introductory address from the Hon. William C. Maybury, Mayor of Detroit.

MAYOR MAYBURY: Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Convention, I very greatly regret the absence of the Governor, who was expected to extend to you a welcome for the great State of Michigan, and whose excuse that he has important business on hand is justified by the well-known truthfulness of the Governor, and also by the fact that he has on his hands a Legislature that he feels it his duty to watch very closely. I, also, had a good deal of business on hand this afternoon, and I am foregoing the pleasure of pitching the first ball in the opening of the baseball season at Bennett Park, but I consider the pleasure well given up in such a cause as municipal reform.

Now, you may have been with us long enough to know that there is some confusion of time in Detroit, and it averages about twenty-eight minutes ahead of the time you doubtless carry, so we shall congratulate ourselves that you will have that much longer time to remain with us. But I want to say to you that there is just one kind of a time for you to have while here, and that is a profitable time and a good time, and I say I am sure you certainly will.

I welcome you to Detroit, and I will not permit myself to say, simply "Welcome," but rather to thank you for coming; and I say it with all sincerity, because no convention assembles in Detroit with a high purpose in view but contributes to the education of our people and to our good in every way. Therefore, I not only use the word "Welcome," but "Thank you" for having come amongst us as you come here, in the true spirit of altruism; and, surely, when those who are imbued with this spirit come, as they do, from various municipalities throughout the country, it is patriotism of the highest character. It is to give of their experience and of this spirit for the purpose of aiding those who are not of their kindred and those who are not of their country. It carries with it the spirit of altruism. Here I see men of different cities, who come here with one purpose in mind, and that is, to give of their knowledge and of their experience. And surely cities are getting to be like the great central family of the nation. All the cities of the Old World marked the progress, upward or backward, of the nations of which they formed a part.

When Rome was great, the Roman Empire was great. The decadence of the empire began when Rome began to decay. When Egypt was great,

The Influence of Cities. Alexandria was great. When Greece was great, Athens and Corinth were great. Therefore, greatness clusters around the cities which show a nation's progress upward or downward. And so it is; a good city means a high altitude for the nation, and a bad city means a low altitude for the nation, and every city that attains a high position in this country is not only adding to its own greatness, but is doing something for the great national commonwealth.

Here in the City of Detroit, we do not claim perfection; we only claim that we are trying to get at the point of striving to be an ideal American city. We are having the same difficulties that Detroit.

you are having, and it is natural that this should be so, for the great work going on. Until we have the ideal American, we shall not have the ideal American city; and in working out the ideal American, we would work out the character of the ideal American city. We expect the ideal American to be big in every way, and so with the ideal American city. It cannot be contracted. It cannot be narrow. It must be great in all that tends to greatness. It must set up a high ideal and live close to it. It must be a happy city; without happiness, what is a city, and how closely is the individual happiness of man associated with his environment! Right here, in this city, look at the desolation and sorrow. Every one feels it more or less. It is simply impossible to live in a great city and not be affected by the conditions about us. To be a good citizen, to be an ideal American, is to have one's heart beat high for high purposes, to be sorrowful for those who are in sorrow, and to rejoice with those who rejoice.

Now, my dear friends, the effort to do better than in the past has ever been the means of achievement. We live in a great world, we have great experience, for there has been no time when the sunlight of intelligence and truth shone so brightly. Therefore we have much, and much is expected of us; and you are here to labor for accomplishing that which will make for the betterment not only of cities but of mankind. Our streets and avenues seem to say, "Welcome to you," and I voice that welcome again in saying, I thank you for coming to Detroit.

JOHN DAVIS, Esq., President Detroit Municipal League: It is with great pleasure that I extend to you, in behalf of the Detroit Municipal League, a welcome to the field of its activities.

It is a privilege of which any organization or community might well be proud, to receive into its midst so worthy a company of men, representing, as it does, the best citizenship of our great Republic.

Municipal League's Welcome. We welcome you not alone as strangers within our gates, to whom courtesy is due; but as men of high ideals and of noble purposes, gathered here to confer together toward the realization of those ideals, and the working out of those purposes, we extend to you the right hand of fellowship and assure you of our esteem and co-operation.

At a coming session you will be informed of the work of the organization which I have the honor here to represent. Enough to say now, that no more appreciative people can be found than the residents of this fair city for every effort which is loyal to liberty and reform and progress.

For the prize of liberty our forefathers, in the humble hamlets of colonial days, traced the print of the moccasin in the freshly fallen snow as they guarded their houses against surprise and massacre. By hundreds they left their homes, at the call of Lexington, to defend with their lives the principle

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of freedom, as millions would to-day if that freedom, so dearly bought, were assailed by a foreign foe or by a domestic tyrant. Ungrateful were the heart, dull were the intellect and seared the conscience which did not appreciate that our liberty was not free, but was purchased at a great cost,—or that, realizing, did not render homage to the courage and prowess by which it was secured.

We adore "Old Glory," born of sacrifice and suffering, bequeathed to us as the emblem of liberty, redeemed by the blood of martyr sons of the Civil War, and exalted by the beneficent conquest of the present generation. Monuments of bronze and marble, the painted canvas, the written page, the eloquence of oratory,—ever summon the fire of patriotism to burn upon the altar of the temple of liberty.

Memorial societies treasure the records of deeds of valor and acts of heroism, and thus seek to transmit to posterity the spirit of our ancestors.

True Liberty But patriotism has other conditions than guarded outposts and fields of battle. Liberty demands other tribute and Patriotism. than death and scourge and huzzas. Aye, liberty entails constant responsibility upon all who claim the rights of freedom. These two—rights and responsibility—are inevitably and forever associated, and, except so recognized in our lives, we do not deserve the liberty of which we boast under the flag we love and cherish.

Patriots are they who, with love and zeal for the good of their country, give of their strength and wisdom to preserve and extend the principles of justice and honor and freedom. In the development of a nation, problems are ever arising which, in their solution, call for careful and laborious thought and patriotic service.

Franklin, in cleaning the market-place of his "beloved city," exhibited the spirit of patriotism as well as at the court of France.

In the rapid growth of the population of our country and its increased aggregation into cities, with the aggressive spirit of personal advancement ever present, evils and errors had grown apace until their enormity astounded and aroused the people from their neglect of responsibility.

It is the rhythmic mode of progress—to-day the calm, to-morrow the storm. First the burn, then the salve. I shall ever cherish grateful feelings

Rhythmic Progress. for the cheering message of a former Governor of New York, who, addressing the prisoners at Auburn, said that he owed more to his mistakes in life than to any other experience. Such testimony is encouraging when the mistakes of cities are considered. Urban life is more intense than that of rural districts, and the chances for errors are greater and the exposure to temptations more frequent; but there is another point of view which is brighter and more hopeful: Evil has its correlative remedy,—oftener reforms emanate from the city than from other sources.

Gentlemen, we welcome you because of the principles you represent and advocate,—those fundamental principles which gave birth and growth to the Republic. We welcome you because nearly a dozen years ago you conceived

the idea of concerted action to apply ointment to the wounds and tonic to the system of our municipal life. You brought, from the stress of city life, your logic, your science, your acquisitions, through the burning of the midnight oil and through wrestling in the arena of business, and offered them, a tribute, to the good of this Republic.

Yours has not been the thrill of a passing emotion nor the seeking of material reward, but a persistent sacrifice to the benefit of the people; and, gentlemen, we believe that no success in your life's vocation has brought to you more enduring satisfaction than this, which has been divorced from private emolument.

Every city has a character of its own, which is revealed in its financial credit, its cleanliness and comeliness, its educational equipment, its moral and esthetic culture, and in the degree in which the democratic spirit is enshrined in the hearts of its citizens. Neither conquest of arms nor commercial advantage is the highest aim of a people, but opportunity for achievement and capacity for broadest friendship and highest enjoyment. Any city, if it will, may be the abode of such a people.

No narrow view of life must confine civic attention to sewers, pavements, heat, light, water and transportation,—all so necessary to comfort and health,—nor yet to taxes, nor to the sores that exist; but truth and beauty, resident in the souls of men and women, require of the municipality that fullness of life promoted by temples of art, music and learning, by parks and boulevards, and by the adornment of the by-ways. Your work, gentlemen, is one of construction, the upbuilding of municipal character. Your thought and labor will

live beyond your days and continue to find its enactment
Work of in law and life.

Construction. That work of your League, "The Municipal Program," compiled with papers of historic, social and economic arguments in its behalf, is of itself sufficient to command a welcome to your body. And the work of your individual constituents, each in his local sphere, constrains us, gentlemen, to again extend to you a warm and hearty welcome.

MR. RICHARDSON: Gentlemen, you will excuse me from making any address, as I am entirely unprepared. I did not know until a few minutes ago that Mr. Carter would not be here, and I am sure that all

Mr. Richardson's will regret exceedingly that he cannot be with us, but no
Response. one can possibly regret it quite so much as I do. Mr.

Carter has led a long and noble life; and now, in the evening of his days, when he feels himself unable to be with us, I am sure that no one can criticise him for his absence or feel anything but gratitude for the splendid work that he has done in connection with this League, and in connection with many other good things with which he has been associated.

We thank the citizens of Detroit exceedingly for the invitation which has brought us here, and for the cordial welcome that we have received from His Honor, Mayor Maybury, and for the Governor's letter, and the welcome from Mr. Davis. We come here in no spirit of criticism, and with no feeling of superiority; but, on the contrary, we come to learn, and we will be very

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glad indeed to receive any information as to methods and achievements which we can obtain in this beautiful City of Detroit. If, however, there should be any representative here from any other city that is in any way better off in municipal conditions than Detroit, I am sure that he will be glad to give any information or any suggestions that he can to the people of this city. Many persons look upon the movement for which the National Municipal League and its affiliated organizations stand as relating to objects of purely local interest ; but when we see the rapidly increasing population, wealth and influence that are concentrated in our great municipal centers we realize that it is no longer a local question,—it is a national question. The number of the

The Work of the National Municipal League. representatives of our cities in the legislative bodies of the States, and the share and influence of those cities in the selection of Members of Congress and other officers of the general Government, is making them the dominant power in our national life ; and it behooves every American citizen, whether he lives in a city or not, to realize that the character of our National Government will depend upon the character of our municipal governments. If you have a bad municipal government, if you have a bad party machine that controls the municipal government, you are sure to get bad representatives in the capitals of the States and in the capital of the nation. It is, therefore, from a national standpoint as well as from a local standpoint, that our work should appeal to every citizen of the United States. [Applause.]

The first item I find on the program is the report of "The Year's Work," by our Secretary, Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

Mr. Woodruff then read his report, entitled, "The Year's Work." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, the report of the Secretary will follow the usual course of being received and filed. The next item on the program is the Treasurer's report, by George Burnham, Jr., of Philadelphia.

GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.: The report of your Treasurer, like those "Annals of the Poor" of which the poet speaks, is short and necessarily simple. Our poverty, however, is strictly comparative, as we have had ample means during the past year to meet all our obligations, without curtailing our work, though a larger income would enable us to greatly increase our activities, and your Treasurer would urge, as in the past, that all those interested in the success of the League should assist in increasing its contributing membership.

We began the year (May 1, 1902) with a balance of \$692.39. The receipts from all sources for the year were \$3,827.90, divided as follows :

Members' dues	\$2,100 00
Contributions	1,172 00
Special contributions for Educational Committee . . .	200 00
Sales of Proceedings	342 75
Interest	13 15

FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

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Our total expenditures were \$4,193.15, under the following heads:

Printing and stationery	\$858 53
Postage	638 83
Clerical work	536 04
News clippings	122 76
General expenses, including traveling expenses of Secretary	522 70
Secretary	375 00
Publication Rochester Proceedings (balance)	246 40
Publication Boston Proceedings	892 89
	<hr/>
	\$4,193 15

We close the year with a balance on hand of \$327.14 and all obligations paid.

MR. RICHARDSON: Gentlemen, you have heard the Treasurer's report. What action will you take upon it?

MR. WOODRUFF: I move that it be received and a committee of two be appointed to audit it.

This motion was adopted, and the Chair appointed John A. Butler and S. D. Callender as an auditing committee.

MR. WOODRUFF: I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that a nominating committee be appointed, and that we defer the election of officers until to-morrow morning at the opening of the session. I move that a committee of three be appointed. Carried.

The Chair appointed John Davis, Detroit, Michigan, D. H. Lawrence, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, and F. B. James, of Cincinnati, Ohio, as the Committee on Nominations.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper is on "The Federation of Civic Forces—City, State and National," and will be read by J. Horace McFarland, of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Civic Federation. Mr. McFarland then read a paper on "The Federation of Civic Forces — City, State and National." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We had expected to have Charles Mulford Robinson, of Rochester, Secretary of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association, discuss this paper, but Mr. Robinson has had to submit to a severe surgical operation. He has sent his paper, however, and Mr. Burnham is kind enough to read it.

Mr. Burnham then read the following paper of Mr. Robinson's discussing the points raised by Mr. McFarland's:

I had the pleasure last week of attending a luncheon that was given in honor of Dr. Graham Taylor, who is at the head of the Chicago Commons. Dr. Taylor was telling us at the table of the vast Catholic population around it. The adjacent parish, he said, was the largest in the world. Its many

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thousand communicants are mainly Poles, and he told of the efficiency and splendid organization with which the Catholic Church controlled these people.

Religious Co-operation. In response to an inquiry as to the status of Protestantism in this district, Dr. Taylor said that a few weeks ago he gave a luncheon, to which he invited all the Protestant clergy of the district. Eighteen were invited. Of the eighteen, nine, he said, sent him no response, making no acknowledgment whatever of his invitation; the other nine came, but of that number only two, he believed, had ever met each other before. There was no sense of united purpose, no federation of effort, no system, and none of the strength of union.

With no reflection upon the character of that portion of the Roman Catholic Church which is represented in this congested district of Chicago, and, indeed, with the greatest admiration for its system, I think we may apply the lesson to our own endeavors in that religion which Mr. McFarland has described as "the gospel of civic righteousness, high of aim, and pure of heart." Surrounded by evil and corruption, each of our little national societies, for one phase or another of civic betterment, is doing the best it can in its own little field; but there is no more coalition or sense of union between us than between those little Protestant churches and missions that similarly are trying to do a good work in that crowded section of Chicago.

To stand together in essentials, to join hand to hand, to make each one of us feel the spur and inspiration of associated effort instead of the discouragement of single endeavor; to avoid the waste of duplication, to secure the power of union and the efficiency of a centralized bureau;—these, briefly, are the primary purposes of the suggested Civic Alliance.

The Constitution, as it has been drawn up, is not as far-reaching as it might be. It was not intended that it should set the limits for our endeavor. The great thing is to make a beginning to bring us together, as Dr. Taylor tried to bring the Protestant clergy together at his luncheon, to introduce us to one another, to have us take hands and unite for a long pull, a strong pull and a pull together, in behalf of that "gospel of civic righteousness, high of aim and pure of spirit."

We want the National Municipal League to come into this movement; we want it to say, "Count on us." The Constitution, as proposed, was made as simple and easy as possible. The Societies invited to coöperate are asked to give nothing whatever except their endorsement of the plan and their promise to aid it as far as they can; it being understood that this promise involves no financial obligation of any sort. We believe that if we can get a sufficient number of these national societies to promise that, without loss of their own identity, they will unite to establish an efficient general headquarters, we shall be in a position to appeal to the public spirit and generosity of the people of these United States for the financial support, and that they will not disappoint us.

Let me explain briefly what the plan is, for never was there a scheme

simpler or more completely dedicated to the general good. There was a meeting in New York last fall of the Federation Committee. The persons who actually attended it represented officially the following societies: the Architectural League of America, which was represented by its President; the

League for Social Service, which was represented by its President; the American League for Civic Improvement, which was represented by a member of the Executive Committee; the National Municipal League, which was represented by your Secretary; and the American Park and Outdoor Art Association, which was represented by its Secretary. There was a prolonged and informal discussion regarding the possibility and scope of the Federation, and it was finally agreed that the consonance of opinion might be expressed in the following words: That such a federation should be established, that it should have a headquarters that should be a general bureau of information, that the administrative officer of the Federation should be a General Secretary, who would have charge of this headquarters; that his duties would be

Duties of General Secretary. (1) editorial, for it was proposed that the Federation should issue an annual report representing the federated interests; (2) consultive, to the end that the public should go to his office with its inquiries, assured that its questions would have intelligent answers or that they would be referred to the proper authorities; (3) that his personality should be a factor, which was interpreted as meaning that he should become widely acquainted with the officers of all the federated societies; (4) that he should serve, when so requested to do, in an advisory capacity regarding the conventions and meetings held separately, or unitedly, by the societies federated; (5) that it should be his duty to promote a public knowledge of the movement which he represented, doing this by means of articles in the magazines and press; (6) that he should record and make public any important and interesting special information, this being constantly gathered by separate societies, committees or members of such societies, but little known to the general public.

That is all we want to do. That at present is the full purpose of the Civic Alliance. In saying this, I do not speak for myself alone. It is not my personal idea, but it is that of the Committee representing many national societies. It is obvious that the work may grow, that if it is a success it may develop in a hundred useful ways; but for the present this is all we ask. Let us get together; let us agree to work in harmony; let us establish between us one great general headquarters to which the groping public may turn for aid. As a society, no financial assistance is asked of you, and the maintenance of your separate and individual existence is earnestly desired. If you come into the Alliance you will represent its special agency for municipal reform. The Alliance will aid you, I believe, as much as you will help it. Whenever distressed citizens call upon the Alliance for advice and assistance in their political trials, they will be referred to the National Municipal League. The Alliance will be proud and happy to have you to refer to. You will be glad to have this central authority referring inquiries to you. There is, I believe,

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a great opportunity for great good, by all standing together in this way. Will not you stand with the rest of us in establishing the Alliance?

It was moved and carried, that the paper from C. C. Brown, of Indianapolis, on the same subject, be received and printed as part of the proceedings.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, it will be so ordered. (See Appendix for Mr. Brown's paper.)

Mr. Horace E. Deming, of New York, was called to the Chair, and introduced, as the next speaker, Mr. Richardson.

MR. RICHARDSON: While I am heartily in favor of a Civic Alliance between the various associations formed for the purpose of improving municipal conditions, a somewhat hurried perusal and consideration of Mr. McFarland's forcible and interesting paper on "The Federation of Civic Forces," and of the plan to which he refers, has suggested to my mind a few points or queries which may merit some attention.

In the first place, I think that, even if we should all agree that the proposed Constitution is absolutely perfect, a better impression will be produced if the

Suggested different national organizations shall be invited to take part
Procedure. in the discussion and preparation of a plan before they are required to decide upon its acceptance or rejection. As it is desirable to avoid delay, I would suggest that the National Municipal League now appoint, and that each of the other national organizations named in this connection shall be invited to appoint, one or more delegates to discuss and prepare, and with discretionary power to approve and accept, a plan or Constitution and By-laws for such a Civic Alliance as has been proposed. It might also be well to authorize the President of the League or its Executive Committee to appoint some one to act as a trustee or representative of the League when the Alliance has been formed.

In the second place, I incline to the opinion that the proposed Constitution can be made more satisfactory and attractive by going more into detail, and by having somewhat more liberal and democratic provisions in regard to the representation and voting powers of the subscribing organizations. It might be well to provide for the election of some trustees by some system of correspondence or by an annual meeting of delegates from such associations.

Thirdly, I think there should be provisions regulating withdrawals and the submission and adoption or rejection of future amendments.

In the fourth place, it appears to me that in the sentence beginning with the words, "The design of the proposed Alliance is to bring about a federation of existing organizations," the use of the word "federation" without any such qualifying adjective as ultimate, would tend to give an impression that would be, at this time, misleading, or at least premature. I would rather substitute something to the effect that the design is to provide an association which will be a means for sharing information, and for promoting mutual knowledge, discussion and voluntary co-operation among existing organizations, and will tend to eliminate unnecessary duplication of effort, and to secure greater efficiency than is now possible.

While there are many associations which could be combined with advan-

tage, the obstacles in the way of securing, in the near future, anything like a general federation or consolidation of existing organizations, with a central control, are practically insuperable.

Practical Difficulties. Even if it were possible to overcome such minor difficulties as the mutual jealousies and misunderstandings between rival associations and the desire of managers and employees to hold positions of prominence or profit, we should still be confronted with the fact that municipal conditions differ so widely that the lines of effort which are most important or most feasible in one city are unnecessary or unavailable in another. We should also find that it is only by having many different kinds of societies that it is practicable to secure adequate support from citizens, who hold entirely different views in regard to the objects which ought to be aimed at and the methods which ought to be adopted. For the removal of these difficulties we must rely mainly upon the gradual improvement, and the therefore increasing similarity of municipal conditions and upon the slow development of civic conscience and civic intelligence. These processes are necessarily far from rapid, but I believe that the proposed Alliance can be made an important factor in promoting the desired results. It can also do much toward obtaining a larger measure of active coöperation between organizations formed for entirely distinct purposes, but having a common interest in securing an honest, economical, progressive and intelligent administration of city governments, and in opposing every form of fraud and municipal corruption, and anything that may affect the purity of the ballot or lessen its effectiveness as an authoritative expression of the will of the sovereign people.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, gentlemen, this topic is one of very considerable importance to the National Municipal League, as well as to other similar organizations, and its discussion from the floor is in order.

MR RICHARDSON: I would suggest that the National Municipal League should now appoint,—that is, authorize the appointment of,—a committee to coöperate with similar committees to be appointed from other national organizations in formulating some plan for the better coördination of these various forces for municipal betterment.

Mr. WOODRUFF: I desire to offer the following as a substitute resolution:

Endorsement of Civic Alliance. *Resolved*, That the National Municipal League approve the suggestion of a Civic Alliance and that the Executive Committee be authorized to take such steps as may, in its judgment, be desirable and necessary to carry it into execution.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

MR. WOODRUFF: The following letter from the secretary of the Municipal Art Society of Chicago touches a matter of interest and importance and should therefore be laid before all members:

CHICAGO, April 20, 1903.

Dear Mr. Woodruff:

Your invitation of March 24 to the Municipal Art League of Chicago to send a delegate to attend the Convention of the National Municipal League,

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at Detroit, on the 22d, 23d and 24th of April, was duly received and laid before the Board of Directors at its meeting on the 16th inst. The Board accepted the invitation and delegated Mr. J. S. Dickerson, who will present this as his credential, to represent the League.

As an evidence of one instance of Municipal Reform accomplished by this League, Mr. Dickerson will lay before the Convention a copy of the boiler inspection and smoke prevention ordinance,* adopted by the City Council of Chicago on the 23d of March, which is now a law and will go into effect on the first of May.

Smoke Prevention. Except a few amendments adopted at the Council meeting on that date, the ordinance represents the result of two years' continual effort on the part of the Municipal Art League, of Chicago, to get a law that will make it feasible to give Chicago a pure and clear atmosphere, and thereby encourage the effort for municipal art and make it appreciable when we get it. In another sense, it will be a preventive of the many lamentable boiler explosions with which we have been afflicted from time to time. Even with the amendments that were added to it, we believe that it will be effective in a short time in accomplishing these results, and we recommend it to all other municipalities that have to contend with the smoke nuisance.

Respectfully yours,

PETER B. WIGHT, *Secretary.*

The meeting then adjourned until Thursday morning at 10 o'clock.

THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

The League met, pursuant to adjournment, Thursday, April 23, in the Turkish Room of the Hotel Cadillac, Vice-president Charles Richardson presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN : The meeting will come to order. The first business before us is the report of the Nominating Committee.

MR. FRANCIS BACON JAMES, of Cincinnati: Before presenting the report of the Nominating Committee, I desire, on its behalf, to recommend the adoption of a resolution creating the office of Honorary President.
Election of Officers. We find, in the history of the organization, that some men have served a great many years in certain offices and are no longer able to give their time and attention to the detail work, but whose names are a tower of strength to the organization. I therefore offer the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, by the National Municipal League, that the office of Honorary President be created."

MR. WOODRUFF : I second the motion.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

*Copies of this ordinance can be had of Mr. Wight from his office, 1112 Chamber of Commerce Building, Chicago, Illinois.—EDITOR.

MR. JAMES: The members of the National Municipal League, by your Committee on Nominations, submit the following nominations for the ensuing year:

TO NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE:

Gentlemen: The undersigned Committee on Nominations submit the following nominations for the ensuing year:

Nominating Committee's Report.	Honorary President, James C. Carter, New York.
	President, Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore.
	First Vice-president, Charles Richardson, Philadelphia.
	Second Vice-president, Samuel B. Capen, Boston.
	Third Vice-president, Thomas N. Strong, Portland, Oregon.
	Fourth Vice-president, H. Dickson Bruns, New Orleans.
	Fifth Vice-president, Edmund J. James, Chicago.
	Secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.
	Treasurer, George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia.
Executive Committee.—Horace E. Deming, New York, Chairman; William G. Low, Brooklyn; George W. Guthrie, Pittsburg; Harry A. Garfield, Cleveland; Hector McIntosh, Philadelphia; William P. Bancroft, Wilmington; Dudley Tibbets, Troy; John A. Butler, Milwaukee; Oliver McClintock, Pittsburg; Harry T. Atkins, Cincinnati; Harry B. French, Philadelphia; Albert B. Hart, Cambridge; John Davis, Detroit; James L. Blair, St. Louis; J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg; David H. Lawrence, Duluth; Elliot Hunt Pendleton, Cincinnati.	
Respectfully,	

FRANCIS B. JAMES, *Chairman.*

MR. JAMES: Mr. Chairman, I now move you that the Secretary be instructed to cast a ballot for the nominees as submitted by the Committee on Nominations.

This motion, duly seconded, was unanimously adopted.

MR. WOODRUFF: I desire to announce that I have cast the unanimous ballot of the League for the following officers and Executive Committee:

Honorary President, James C. Carter, New York.
President, Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore.
First Vice-president, Charles Richardson, Philadelphia.
Second Vice-president, Samuel B. Capen, Boston.
Third Vice-president, Thomas N. Strong, Portland, Oregon.
Fourth Vice-president, H. Dickson Bruns, New Orleans.
Fifth Vice-president, Edmund J. James, Chicago.
Secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.
Treasurer, George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia.
Executive Committee—Horace E. Deming, New York, Chairman; William G. Low, Brooklyn; George W. Guthrie, Pittsburg; Harry A. Garfield, Cleveland; Hector McIntosh, Philadelphia; William P. Bancroft, Wilmington; Dudley Tibbets, Troy; John A. Butler, Milwaukee; Oliver McClintock, Pittsburg; Harry T. Atkins, Cincinnati; Harry B. French, Philadelphia; Albert B. Hart, Cambridge; John Davis, Detroit; James L. Blair, St. Louis;

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J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg; David H. Lawrence, Duluth; Elliot Hunt Pendleton, Cincinnati.

THE CHAIRMAN: The officers and Executive Committee, as nominated by the Committee, are elected, and will serve for the ensuing year and until their successors are elected. We will now have the pleasure of hearing a paper on "The Municipal Situation in the Philippines," written by Captain Edwards, Chief of the Insular Bureau, War Department, and edited and read by Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, of the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. Reinsch then read a paper on "The Municipal Situation in the Philippines." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now listen to the reading of a paper on "Instruction in Municipal Government," by Dr. John A. Fairlie, of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Dr. Fairlie then read a paper on "Instruction in Municipal Government." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject we have just heard so excellently considered will be discussed by Mr. J. B. Davis, Principal of the Detroit Central High School.

Mr. Davis then delivered an address on "The Teaching of municipal government in the High Schools of Our Large Cities." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I don't think the National Municipal League, or, in fact, any organization, can consider a more important subject than the one that is now before us,—the instruction of young men in the principles of municipal government. We have another paper in this connection, on "The School City," by Wilson L. Gill, Supervisor of Morals in Cuba during the American occupation. Mr. Gill is not here, but Mr. Stevens, of Cleveland, has kindly consented to read this paper. After that we will try to have a few minutes for discussion, although we must get into this morning's session the paper on "The St. Louis Disclosures," by Mr. Blair.

Mr. Stevens then read Mr. Gill's paper on "The School City." (See Appendix.)

MR. BURNHAM: If I am permitted at this time, I should like to present the following resolution on behalf of the Executive Committee:—

Resolved, That the Committee on Instruction in Municipal Government in American Educational Institutions be continued, with power to carry on its work, especially in connection with the secondary and elementary schools of the country; and that the Executive Committee have power to appoint a chairman, and such additional members of said Committee as it may deem to be necessary.

MR. WOODRUFF: In seconding this motion, I would like to say that the necessity for appointing a new chairman of the Committee grows out of the fact that President Brown feels that as a college man he is not so well equipped to deal with the introduction of courses in the secondary and elementary schools; and while he is willing to serve on the Committee, he felt that some one identified with the public school system should be appointed as Chairman in his place. In view of the fact that a new phase of the

subject is to be taken up, a reorganization of the Committee is therefore needed.

While on my feet I desire to say that Mr. Gill is prevented from being here because he is engaged in Philadelphia in the introduction of the school city there. I have seen one of the school cities. It is a very interesting sight. Every question was decided by vote. The whole discipline of the school was conducted by the girls and boys, and the only part the teachers took in it was that of acting as sheriffs to put into execution the will of the pupils.

MR. DEMING: In seconding this resolution, and by way of suggestion, permit me to say that many of us who have had occasion to find the proper places for the education of our own boys and girls have Self-reliance. been impressed by the fact that in many schools the children are not given sufficient opportunity to develop the habit of self-reliance. Everything is prescribed. It has been my experience that it is extremely difficult to find a school to which you could send a boy or girl of eight or nine years of age, where they will have any opportunity for the development of the principle of self-reliance. Mr. Gill has put his finger on what seems to me to be the weak spot in the American public school system. Whether his school city is a feasible thing or not is another question; but it is a fact that our boys and girls everywhere are not given opportunities by the institutions themselves for training in self-reliance, and therefore in self-respect and charity toward the opinions of others. Without dwelling longer on the subject, I trust that our Committee having in charge the study of this question will devote some attention to this point, and possibly be able to make some practical recommendation.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will put off submitting the resolution to a vote for a few minutes, as one or two gentlemen desire to make some comments on the subject we have been considering. We will be unable to give more than a very few minutes to them, perhaps only three or four minutes to a speaker, and only two or three speakers, because we must have Mr. Blair's paper on "The Disclosures in St. Louis," this morning, as he is obliged to leave the city. I will call on Mr. Hugo S. Grosser, Municipal Librarian and Statistician, of Chicago.

MR. GROSSER: Being myself very much interested in instruction in municipal government, it occurred to me that the two speakers dwelt chiefly upon the instruction in our high schools. They both Instruction in stated that the chief object of such instruction should be the Lower Schools. to turn out good citizens. The fact is, that only a very small percentage of our children ever get as far as the high schools; a great mass of the children in this country do not get beyond the elementary schools, and I believe it would be good work, good paying work, for the League to devote its attention to the introduction of instruction in civil and municipal government into our elementary schools.

I don't believe that the pupils of the sixth, seventh and eighth grades,—the three upper grades of our common schools,—are wholly incapable of being

introduced to the system, to a knowledge of our municipal government in a simple way; and I was very much pleased to hear the paper on the school city, because I believe that that is one of the lines that can be pursued. I have personal cognizance of that system in several schools in Chicago, where it has been introduced. I know of two common schools where they have adopted the system of the school city. The underlying cause of the lack of instruction in municipal government, I believe, arises from the fact that our teachers, as a rule, know nothing about municipal government, and I must say that most American citizens know nothing of municipal government.

I have, in my own experience, come into contact with some of the most prominent business men in a community, who, whenever they came into touch with the municipal government, displayed such gross ignorance of municipal conditions that I was surprised. In the Normal School in Chicago, the teachers now undergo a course of training in municipal government given by Professor Thurston. I have had occasion to meet a number of students who come to the office to get information, and have thus been able, in the last two or three years, to follow step by step the advancement in this branch. I very often meet teachers in public schools who know nothing of the subject, and I believe we ought to induce the school authorities to make that a subject of examination for teachers,—to require a knowledge in municipal government, in order that they may be able to impart such knowledge

Instruction of to the pupils. They can acquire it as easily as lots of
Teachers. boys of ten or eleven years can study national govern-
 ment, and they can understand it, and they will understand

it. They ought to be able to understand the simplest forms of municipal government, if instructed in the proper way, and I would like to see the school authorities make it a requirement of teachers to be in possession of sufficient knowledge of municipal government to impart it to their pupils.

I cannot fail to make one more suggestion that occurred to me while Mr. Davis was reading his paper, and that is in regard to the method to be pursued. It is in regard to studying the evils simply of municipal government. I have never been satisfied with the study of any one subject by studying the evils thereof. I find this,—that, on account of the ignorance in municipal affairs, the municipal officer is looked upon by the public in general as,—well, as a thief,—to say the least, as a boodler, as some one that is dishonest. That is the usual conception of public officers among the most of the population; if a man is a city official,—well, he is a City Hall man, he is no good, to use the vernacular. This conception is nourished in our schools. I believe every municipal government has about it points of commendation that we should rather point out, those points of which we may be proud in our respective cities, and let the evils come in a lesser way.

THE CHAIRMAN: If no one else wishes to discuss this subject at this time, in view of our being so crowded for time, I will put Mr. Burnham's motion.

The motion was put and unanimously adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: If Mr. Blair will now read his paper on "The St. Louis Disclosures," we shall be very glad to hear it.

Mr. Blair here read a paper upon "The St. Louis Disclosures." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We have another item on the program for this morning, entitled "Brief Recitals of Recent Municipal Experiences." I have no doubt they would be very interesting, but the hour for adjournment has arrived, and we shall have to put them over until this afternoon. Mr. Deming has kindly consented to act as Chairman of the meeting this afternoon, and we will now adjourn until 2.30.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The League met, pursuant to adjournment, at 2.30 p. m., Thursday, April 23, in the Turkish Room of the Cadillac Hotel; Horace E. Deming, Esq., of New York, in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first paper this afternoon under the general title of "Uniform Municipal Accounting," to which topic the afternoon session will be devoted, will be from Dr. Hartwell, City Statistician of Boston, and Chairman of the League's Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting.

Dr. Hartwell then presented a report on the subject of "Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: While Dr. Hartwell was giving us **Municipal Accounting.** his report on the present methods in vogue in our cities of creating statistics, a letter was received from Mr. Blacklock, a member of our Committee on Municipal Accounting, containing news from Baltimore that I think you will be glad to hear:

"By this mail, I have the pleasure of sending you a copy of the report of our City Comptroller, Hon. James H. Smith, for the fiscal year ending December 31, 1902. It seems to me that this is pretty good work for our city in the line of uniform municipal accounting, and I believe that our Comptroller is the first to publish, as the voluntary work of his office, a statement of his accounts arranged according to the schedule of the League. Next August the League of American Municipalities meets here, and this report will be one of the leading topics under discussion. Naturally it will serve as a practical working model for all those city officials who may be disposed to take up the subject."

MR. GROSSER: Before you proceed, allow me to announce that I am the bearer of a number of copies of the Comptroller's Report of Chicago, which you will find, upon examination, follows very closely upon the lines suggested by the League. The copies are here for distribution among those who are interested.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now listen to a paper on "Chicago Accounting Reform," prepared by Dr. F. A. Cleveland, of the University of Pennsylvania,

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which will be read by Dr. Sparling, of the Wisconsin University, likewise a member of the League's Committee.

Dr. Sparling then read Dr. Cleveland's paper, "Chicago Accounting Reform." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It would seem, then, that the National Municipal League, composed of dreamers, has made a contribution of a million dollars a year to the City of Chicago. I hope some of these Chicago men present will let Chicago understand that fact.

MR. GROSSER: Thank you, we will.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think a one per cent contribution annually from Chicago's savings to the Treasurer of the League would enable us to do a public work of increasing value to Chicago and her citizens. The next paper is entitled "The Ohio Accounts Under the New Bill and the New Code," and will be read by Mr. Harvey S. Chase, of Boston, a member of our Accounting Committee, who has done valuable work throughout the country in both extending and introducing the schedules of the National Municipal League on municipal accounting.

MR. CHASE: I have here some fifty copies of the Baltimore Reports which have been spoken of, and also a number of copies of the Report of the City of Cambridge, just published, which is along the lines of the schedules. If members would like copies of these to follow as my paper goes on they may have them. Here are also some reports, that came with those documents, also for distribution.

Dr. Hartwell's explanation of the difficulties which surround those who are endeavoring to introduce uniform accounting throughout the country, or in our particular cities, reminds me of a statement which was made by Governor Nash, in our recent meeting, when we were discussing the schedules which were about to be adopted by the Ohio cities. He said: "Mr. Chase, were your schedules built on the new arithmetic, containing the new multiplication table?" I said, "No. What is the new multiplication table?" He said: "Haven't you heard anything of the new arithmetic, and the new multiplication table? It is:

"Ten mills make one combine;
"Ten combines make one trust;
"Ten trusts make one merger;
"Ten mergers make one magnate;
"One magnate makes all the money."

Mr. Chase then read his paper on "The Ohio Accounts Under the New Bill and the New Code." (See Appendix.)

MR. JOHN A. BUTLER, Milwaukee: I should like the liberty, with the permission of the Chairman, to present, at this time, the report of the Auditing Committee, as I shall be obliged to leave the meeting early.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will try to get your report in this session. If there are no questions, we will now listen to a paper on one of the topics that has given rise to lots of discussion and differences of opinion,—the question of

whether cities should undertake the ownership, and, if the ownership, they should undertake the management and control of gas, electric lighting and water plants. It is one of the live questions for consideration by municipal reformers. The paper has been prepared by Mr. M. N. Baker, of the "Engineering News," a gentleman who has spent a good deal of time upon the subject, and will be read by Mr. Howard C. Beck, Deputy Comptroller of Detroit. After Mr. Beck has read the paper he will make some comments of his own upon the same general subject.

Mr. Beck then read Mr. Baker's paper, on "What Has Been Done Toward Uniform Accounts for Street Railway, Electric and Gas Lighting and Water-works Systems." (See Appendix.)

MR. BECK: The Chairman stated that I was to make some few remarks on the general subject of uniform municipal accounting, which is one in which I have been very much interested for the last four or five years, during which time it has been my duty and privilege to have in hand the preparation of the annual report of the Comptroller of this city.

When I began the work I found that the report of the Comptroller, instead of embracing a complete history of the finances of the city, embraced only a part of the financial transactions; and that a large number of departments handled their money independently of the central authorities (the Comptroller, Treasurer and the Common Council) and kept their own book accounts, and paid out their moneys as they saw fit, made no report to the Comptroller, and all the mention of the funds of those departments in the Comptroller's report was of the sums of money turned over to them for disbursement.

It was, in my mind, a very unsatisfactory way of doing business,—an unbusinesslike way. It seemed to me that the financial transactions of the city should be centralized in one disbursing officer, should pass through one auditing officer, and that the best interests of the city would be very greatly conserved if such a system could be brought about.

To that end, in 1897 we secured the passage by the Legislature of acts covering four departments of the municipality, bringing them under this system of central control. This left three departments of the city,—the Board of Education, the Public Library Department and the Water-works Department,—still under the old system.

This spring we took the matter up again, and, after spending some few days at the capital, secured the passage of bills covering the first two named; and there is pending at the present time, in the Senate, a bill covering the Water-works Department, of the city, requiring that its finances shall pass through the hands of the Comptroller and the City Treasurer.

There are some features of the bill which the department very strenuously objected to, and its objection has resulted in the bill at the present time being held up. I have no positive assurance at the present time that the bill will pass; but it has been approved by the City Council and the city officers, and it will be our earnest effort to secure its passage. When that

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is done it will mean dollars saved for the city; and it will be my end, if I have the privilege to make up the report after this bill has passed, to lay out the report of the Comptroller along the lines of the general schedule which the League has adopted. [Applause.]

I might say that our report as it stands, embracing the departments which it does, while not modeled exactly according to the League's classifications, is at the same time, of the same general tenor, and is put in such shape that an ordinary person who is not conversant with municipal affairs can sit down and pick up that report, and in a few minutes have a general knowledge of the financial transactions of the city. It is so made to put this information in such shape that a person does not have to be an expert accountant or financier to find out what it means; to put it in such shape that every taxpayer may know just where his money has gone. If there is anybody who is entitled to that information it is the man who puts up the money, for he is a stockholder in the corporation.

There is just one other thing that I want to speak of in this connection, and that is the annual budget. The budget is the foundation of the report.

The Budget. That is to say, the budget ought to be prepared on the same general lines on which the report is to be prepared, so that one will merge into the other. We have been trying to have each department of the government, in preparing its estimates, prepare them all along one general line; and we have been partly, although not entirely, successful in this respect. I think by another year we shall be able to secure the passage of an ordinance which will invest the Comptroller with authority to indicate in what form the budget shall be prepared; and when the appropriations for the year are made the books will be kept in the same way that the appropriations are made, and the report will be made to show the expenditures, and give those appropriations; and I think when we get all this accomplished we shall feel that our efforts have certainly not been in vain.

THE CHAIRMAN: Our further business this afternoon will be "Brief Recitals of Recent Municipal Experiences" in Cincinnati, Milwaukee and Cleveland. Before entering upon that part of the afternoon's program, it seems to me proper to call attention to the fact that this National Municipal League Committee on Uniform Accounting of Municipalities was organized in December, 1900. It has been in existence not yet two years and a half, and the record of its achievements is very notable. If I misstate, I hope some member will correct me. I do not suppose that this is a complete catalogue, but I quote from the papers, and the remarks to-day, that the schedules offered by this Committee have met with so much favor that Cambridge, Brookline, Boston and Chicago have had their accounts made up according to these schedules. This is true also of Providence in Rhode Island, and of Baltimore; and in Ohio a bill has been passed adopting these schedules and applying them to every city of Ohio; and we just hear from the Comptroller's department of Detroit, that these schedules have met

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with favor here, and that the accounts of the department will presently conform to some of the schedules.

The Chairman of the Committee in the interim, in his talk tells us that they are still at work, and I propose that we keep them at work, and that we continue that Committee. Personally, I wish to state that their work will not be completed unless it puts into some volume of convenient and compact size the results of its deliberations, so that they may be open for the information and instruction of every person in the United States interested in this most important branch of municipal administration. The Chairman will be very glad to entertain a motion to continue that Committee's work.

MR. DAVIS: I make such a motion.

MR. WOODRUFF. In behalf of the Committee, of which I have been a member, permit me to say that a volume bearing on municipal accounting has been under consideration. The **Resolution of Continuance.** Committee has hesitated to proceed along these lines for the reason of a lack of formal expression of the League upon the subject.

The whole subject of municipal accounting is complicated by local conditions. Every time a schedule has been published it has been subjected to revision, and it is a question whether we are ready to put out a final form. This is another reason why no volume has been prepared. If, however, Mr. Davis will permit to be made a part of and included in his motion the suggestion that the Committee take into consideration as early as possible the publication of a volume bearing on municipal accounting, I will second his motion. We have a number of valuable papers that will form a basis for such a volume.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand it is moved and seconded that the Committee be continued, and that they be requested to take into consideration the publication of a volume embodying the results of its work, with power to take steps to that end.

The motion was put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now hear reports from three typical cities,—Cincinnati, Milwaukee and Pittsburg,—covering recent municipal experiences. The report covering Cincinnati will be given by Mr. Harry T. Atkins, President of the State Board of Commerce.

MR. ATKINS: The situation in Ohio was well set forth in the paper of Dr. Hartwell, and in return for the compliment I think that it would be only a graceful thing to say to the members of this National **Cincinnati.** Municipal League that the body which sent me here desires you very much to be its guests at your next annual meeting; and it is my province to invite you all there and to promise you the courtesies of the citizens of Cincinnati. In doing this, I think it is only right for me to say some good things of our city, and I shall proceed along that line.

Understanding something of your purposes and desires, it is my simple

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duty and pleasure, in the very few minutes allotted to me, to assure you that the results of your literature, discussions and deliberations Optimism are already bearing fruit; and I come to you with encouraging reports from my own city, Cincinnati, which as to Future. leads me to indulge in optimism of the highest plane concerning the future of municipal government in the cities of the United States.

Gibbon, the historian, writes that "Rome decayed because the world needed a new race of men." The sturdy men of Rome, through centuries of vice, lust and indulgence, degenerated into weaklings. I believe, in this instance, history will not repeat itself in our Republic; for already there are springing into existence men whose best energies and thought are devoted to the cure of ills in our municipal affairs. In the first place, I speak as a representative of the Business Men's Club of Cincinnati, one of whose

Philopolist. number has coined a new word—*philopolist*, a city-lover. With this thought and inspiration, upon every letter-head, envelope and menu is our emblem: "A winged wheel," denoting progress, our motto, "For the honor and glory of Cincinnati." These emblems of civic pride have encouraged over a thousand of our very best citizens to become members of an organization whose power and influence is being felt in every department of our city's government and without regard to any political affiliation. Every member, in his inmost soul, stands for civic righteousness.

We believe in our city because of her wonderful credit. In 1899 Cincinnati placed on the market an issue of 3 per cent water-works bonds, in the sum of \$1,000,000. This entire issue was taken by a syndicate of Cincinnati. Cincinnatians at a premium of \$23,939. In 1901 she again placed an issue of the same character of bonds, and again a home syndicate took the entire issue at the increased premium of \$24,039.—an enviable record indeed, and one but rarely equaled. Philadelphia tried it, after noting Cincinnati's success. She was compelled to withdraw the issue of her bonds, because not one offer was made, either at home or abroad, for the same.*

In 1902, Cincinnati refunded \$7,800,000 of her Cincinnati Southern Railway bonds, bearing 7 and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest, and floated the new bonds successfully at 3½ per cent, the entire issue being taken by a New York syndicate at a premium of \$297,561.—a like showing was never made by any other American city. The pertinent question may be asked, What higher civic pride can be claimed than in the knowledge of highest municipal credit?—a credit due to the substantial improvements by substantial men; to wise laws governing the provision of sinking funds, and an admirable system of the auditor's accounting, examination and correction of all collections and disbursements of the city's funds. Cincinnati is unique among the cities of

* Philadelphia did float her bonds at less than 3 per cent. One issue, however, happened to be offered at a period of sudden and unexpected acute stringency, and so was withdrawn for the time being.—EDITOR.

the world in the ownership of her Cincinnati Southern Railway. "All roads led to Rome—and along her Appian Way the world came to pay her tribute." So, upon her highway of traffic, Cincinnati holds the trade and distributes her manufactures in the territory of the Southland; and, in turn, through the integrity of her trustees, this year will receive the munificent rental of \$1,090,000, used to reduce the rate of her taxation.

Another unusual feature is the city's ownership of the water-works. These activities were, at one time, almost wrecked for political purposes in the interest of private monopoly; but a law was passed demanding that this plant be put in the best of condition and then offered to the highest bidder. This, together with the vigilance of our citizens, caused the entire

Municipal Ownership. action to be shown in its true light, continuing the ownership of this magnificent property in the city. Our municipal lighting and heating is conducted by a private corporation, under certain limitations and control. Our street-car system, enjoying a long franchise by a private corporation, paid into the City Treasury in 1902, \$165,117.40. This corporation can, however, elect to pay forty cents per lineal foot license, instead of this tax on gross receipts. The municipal activities of Cincinnati, supported by a levy of taxes and incomes from other sources, are our water-works as named, police, fire department, hospital, Infirmary, House of Refuge, streets, work-house, parks and markets, which, with provision for sinking fund and interest, yielded a total income in 1902 of \$9,900,434.38, and disbursements of \$8,745,751.99; leaving a balance to 1903 of \$1,154,682.39;—which large receipts and disbursements are subject to examination every seven days, every penny of which must come through the auditor, and be duly accounted for.

The State Examiner of Ohio compliments this system above any other method in our State, and urges that the same system be adopted throughout the State. The balances of moneys on hand April 1, 1903, subject to check, were \$2,178,089.98, duly held by three national banks, each and every transaction involved being confirmed by an expert examiner appointed by, and required to report to, the Board of Legislation; there being during 1902 forty-three such examinations.

The income from taxes and other sources includes licenses of all kinds, such as are obtained from the liquor law, rents from wharves, vehicles, and the like.

Our city is deficient in her park systems, but public opinion, however, is steadily growing. It has been held back by our city's position, physically; our residences and homes overflowing, from Parks. the natural basin of her occupancy to the hilltops beyond. The congested portion of our city beneath the hills has been overlooked. Playgrounds are meeting with public favor, and are strongly urged and being located; the improvement of tenement houses and suburban homes for the poor has been constantly agitated, and the safety and sanitary conditions of all properties are closely and carefully scanned.

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The New Code. On the first Monday in May the new Municipal Code goes into effect in our city,—a code broad enough in its scope to encourage our citizens in the hope that a still brighter and better era is to dawn in her history. A code was suggested by the Ohio State Board of Commerce; the new one continues the merit system in our police and fire departments. It provides for the election of a mayor, a president of the council, a treasurer and solicitor for two years, and a city auditor for three years, a Department of Public Service and a Department of Public Safety, the latter to be appointed by the mayor, but *bi-partisan*. Under this Department of Public Safety, the merit system in the police and fire departments will be rigidly enforced, and all applicants for such classified service shall be subjected to examinations. Yet, while these examinations are required, they are competitive and free to all applicants, with, however, the highest standards of physical as well as intellectual and moral worth. They are conducted as rigidly and on as high a plane as the examinations at West Point and Annapolis. The passage of this code, while not a perfect instrument in itself, is a step forward in municipal improvement. It is, at least, crystallizing public opinion along the lines that national politics are one thing and municipal affairs another. It is a recognition that a city should be governed from within and not from without; that state politics should not dominate city government; but on the same high plane of devotion to one's country and loyalty to one's state there may and should exist a civic pride.

The Ohio State Board of Commerce feels a just pride in forming public opinion by bringing before our Legislature the need of our municipalities

Ohio State Board of Commerce. for a code, which should be in itself a charter allowing each city to proceed along its own lines unhindered, believing that municipal government is *business*, not *politics*. The day is dawning, and the hope is bright,

that the humiliating contrast of the municipal governments abroad and in our American cities will no longer exist. But we must select such men as believe in our municipal government and will make politics secondary, and leave state and national politics to other times and places for settlement.

Their dominance over the municipalities must cease.

A hundred cities of Greece, we are told, claimed to be the birthplace of Homer (the poet), as they remembered his songs proclaiming the glories of Greece. I am sure a hundred of our municipalities will do even greater honor to that master mind who will formulate a perfect code and system of government for our municipalities.

MR. DAVIS: Before proceeding, I should like to correct one little impression. I am very glad that Cincinnati has such good credit as to sell its 3 per cent bonds at a premium. The City of Detroit has sold its 3 per cent bonds, for the last four years, at a premium. The last bonds were sold for 2.96, which is a little better than Cincinnati.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now ask Mr. John A. Butler, of Milwaukee, to speak on "Recent Municipal Experiences in Milwaukee."

MR. BUTLER: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—Being an exceedingly poor extemporaneous speaker, I am not perfectly certain whether the Chairman has designs upon the audience or upon myself, in asking me to speak. But let that be as it may, and whatever my own fate may be, your interests will certainly be protected by the brevity of my remarks. Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, the honored Chairman of our Executive Committee, said with his usual felicity at the Milwaukee meeting: "I trust that all members of the League will remember that excessive modesty is a great drawback to utility as a reformer." I may therefore be excused, speaking upon invitation, for a word on the nearly threadbare history of the works of the Milwaukee Municipal

Numbers and Success. League. There is only one point in its career of which I have not spoken at one or more of the various meetings of our national organization, and that is the relation between numbers and success; and that certainly offers an opportunity for sermonizing in a most optimistic vein, and wholly within the region of actual facts.

The Milwaukee League was founded in 1894. A meeting attended by about four hundred leading citizens was held at the Plankinton House, and many speeches were made from as many points of view. In the midst of it, a brilliant and somewhat eccentric gentleman, in a velvet coat and a crimson cravat that would have delighted an artist's eye, made a few very pointed, and, as it proved, somewhat prophetic remarks. He expressed his surprise that there were so many would-be reformers present who were sunk to the armpits in municipal corruption, possibly unknowingly. His words created a good deal of merriment and surprise, and I presume there were some citizens present who had been bled by the iniquitous city politicians in seeking to secure rights and privileges upon which no price ever should or could be set in a thoroughly patriotic community, marked by a sensitive and thoroughly active public conscience. I mean thoroughly active at the right time, and that is, of course, when the "city fathers" are elected,—and when their characters should be absolutely determined by the most careful and resolute scrutiny. I wish to antidote the pessimistic remarks referred to by saying that in their hearts all those present really wanted reform, in a vague and general way; but few of them had reached the altruistic level where they could realize that the general good is paramount to individual interests. They were not all willing to regard matters broadly, and patriotically sacrifice immediate personal advantage for the greater ultimate advantage which inheres in the general public welfare. Nevertheless, the movement flourished, and was marked by the number of its adherents. It was almost sensation-

Moral Effects. ally omnipresent in the public prints, against its will and to its disadvantage, and was singularly conspicuous for the absence of practical results; at least, results sufficiently obvious to excite attention, though the moral effect of its existence in restraining public officials in some degree from doing wrong was probably not

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inconsiderable, though not susceptible of measurement. After a year or more of public meetings its numbers began to decrease. The novelty had worn out for some, the results of their absence discouraged others; while, I regret to say, still others discovered that they were selling to public institutions, and the politicians were shutting off their sales. Self-interest, I regret to say, prevented the exhibition of the unselfish patriotism which was so conspicuous at Valley Forge, and we sadly parted from our erring brothers. There were a few, however, who knew that when merchants felt the effect of connection with us in decreased sales, the League was felt, and it is significant and most encouraging that when our numbers began to decrease, our success, as far as it went, became assured. We were felt, and, few though we were, we had the sympathy of the public, and we held together. We published many leaflets and pamphlets which were distributed throughout

The Milwaukee League. the state, and particularly in its cities,—forty-two of them. We embarked in legislation and placed all the employees

of the Board of Public Works on a merit basis by establishing the Civil Service Commission. We secured the enactment of a corrupt practices act. We saved the taxpayers many hundreds of thousands of dollars by protecting the tax limit of fourteen mills on every dollar of assessed valuation, and we were very largely instrumental in securing the passage of a new and valuable school board law. We were the first to vigorously protest in great public indignation meetings against giving away street railway franchises,—but in that we failed signally, though our efforts led to a condition of public indignation and demonstration which was not very different from a miniature civil war. We also failed to secure a modern charter, modeled on the lines of the new municipal program,—but we had been educating the public mind for years, and now the very men who opposed us, the ring poli-

ticians, have themselves taken up charter reform on ap-

The Demand for a New Charter. proved lines, and are at present fighting in the Legislature for an improved charter for Milwaukee. At various times

in our history our ideas were incorporated in the party platforms, and now better city government is a political issue in Wisconsin, and the Mayor of Milwaukee and the Governor of the State are pronounced advocates of local self-government as it is understood in the National Municipal League. We may not get it at once, or in precisely the form we wish, but we shall ultimately get both charter reform and pure city government. We shall not get it because of our own numbers, but by virtue of educational work, and the force which inheres in sound principles and ideas.

Blackstone's commentaries were the product of a single man, but they are read in every hamlet where the English tongue is spoken. Martin Luther stood alone in favor of religious liberty, and his work has

The Influence of Principles. reached every fireside in the Christian world. You may liberate a small particle of musk in this room and presently, by virtue of its divisibility and power of expansion, the atmosphere will be charged with it. It is the same with principles and original ideas. They cannot be resisted. It is not necessary that they should

be supported at the outset by a large numerical following. Like the divine message of Him who walked by Galilee, they ultimately and *inevitably* become an inspiring universal possession, and are irresistible. If the National League did nothing more than meet once a year to listen to the vivid and inspiring reports of our able Secretary of what is being accomplished in various cities, it would not exist in vain, if there were not twenty people in the audience which he addressed. Therefore, gentlemen, do not be discouraged in your various cities, by "public apathy" and a small following, but look hopefully to the harvest which must and will come from faithful educational work, in a vivified and inspired public opinion. It took thirty years to abolish slavery, but it was effectively done at last, and the success of genuine municipal reform is as certain to come in all the cities of this country. I thank you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, for your indulgent attention.

THE CHAIRMAN : Mr. McFarland will give us his impressions of Pittsburg and Allegheny from the Harrisburg standpoint.

MR. MCFARLAND : There are two political rings in Pittsburg, and the difference between them might be likened to that existing between the skunk and the pole-cat. Either is bad enough, in every way, and sufficiently malodorous. One thing that has been done under these rings, however, is worthy of recounting here, because it is an instance of doing things for the people at large.

In Schenley Park, Pittsburg, are situated the great Phipps conservatories, magnificent glass-houses given to the city by Henry Phipps, one of the Carnegie millionaires. William Falconer has been for some years the superintendent of all the Pittsburg parks, and he has made them what they are, giving especial attention to the arranging, in the conservatories, of wonderful flower pictures for the people. He has seen his pictures in his imagination as truly as any artist, and has patiently worked them out. The people have visited his wonderful chrysanthemum shows by the hundred thousand, and his Christmas and Easter displays have been even more popular. On the last Easter Sunday, which was rainy, fifty thousand people stood in line to pass through the conservatories. Mr. Falconer has educated them, and he trusts them ; there are no signs like "Don't touch the plants," and there are no policemen to keep in order the quietly moving, deeply interested throng, enjoying to the full the beautiful displays of flowers and plants prepared for them. The importance of this work is very great, in my mind ; it shows to hard-handed iron-workers and their families, who have little or no chance to see beautiful things in the woods and fields, what is most elevating and satisfying.

But now for the ring part of it. Although Mr. Falconer was assured that he should never be bothered with politics when he took this work, and although his own position has never been in doubt, yet the constant bother and annoyance of having to work with ring employees, often entirely inefficient, grew so serious that on the last ring overturn, when more than two

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thousand city employees were decapitated at one stroke, he resigned, a non-political place being offered him in a great landscape cemetery enterprise at a higher salary.

At once the city was aroused. The boss of the ring of the day offered to pay Mr. Falconer the difference in salary out of his own pocket, and urged him to stay. But the able Scotchman, weary with the disgusting grind, tired of having to work with those whose only recommendation for place was their "solidity" with the boss in power, persisted in his resignation and has retired. He is permitted to name his own successor, and is earnestly requested to keep an oversight of the great work he has created.

I mention this Pittsburg instance primarily to call attention to the value of giving the great mass of people something to see. It is done, so far as I know, only in one other city to any serious extent. The Boston Public Gardens are as admirable, in their way, as the Phipps conservatories in Pittsburg.

MR. WOODRUFF: Mr. Butler was not able to present his report from the Auditing Committee, and he has asked me to read it for him:

DETROIT, April 23, 1903.

The Auditing Committee respectfully reports that it has examined the accounts of the National Municipal League from May 15, 1902, to April 4, 1903, carefully comparing the vouchers with the recorded expenditures, and finds the same reasonable and correct.

JOHN A. BUTLER,
SHERMAN D. CALLENDAR,
Auditing Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now adjourn until 8 p. m., in Philharmonic Hall.

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION

The League met, pursuant to adjournment, at 8 p. m., in Philharmonic Hall.

MR. JOHN DAVIS, President Detroit Municipal League: It is not necessary that I should introduce to a Detroit audience the Chairman of the evening, Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Boynton.

DR. BOYNTON: I think that one of the most encouraging evidences that we are reforming is the confession which was recently made by a distinguished professor of political economy, to the effect that in the year 1895 he was invited to read a paper, which he entitled "Some Neglected Aspects of Municipal Reform." The other day he desired to use some of the material in that paper for another address, as it had occurred to him that he would take the same subject; but when he looked his paper over and contrasted the state of affairs in the year 1895 with the state of affairs as they exist to-day, he concluded that his title, at least, was a misnomer, and we have the book, "The Coming City," which Professor Ely has recently given to the world.

It is not necessary, in a company like this, to have very much to say of the wonderful growth of cities. It is most phenomenal in every country in the world. Everybody knows that in America, during the last century and particularly during the last half of the last century, we have developed four hundred cities which are the admiration and the envy of the world. That single fact itself justifies the convention which gathers in our city during these days. And we have not only built these great cities, but it is wonderful to notice their growth. It is not very long since 1870. Every person in this room remembers that date; and in 1870 there were only fourteen cities in America which had a population of 100,000 and over; in 1890, there were twenty-eight cities in America which had a population of 100,000 and over, and to-day there are thirty-eight cities having a population of 100,000 and over.

The prospect that the cities will be depleted in favor of the country by reason of the new uses to which electricity is being put is at best very poor. One-third of our population to-day in America is living in our cities, and the probability is that the one-third will increase rather than decrease in the years that are to come. As has been said more than once in this convention, because of these great cities, and the many comprising them, the government of our country must inevitably be what the governments of our great cities are.

In the little volume to which I have referred, "The Coming City," by Professor Ely, I found one or two things which were so new to me that I thought possibly they might be new and refreshing to some of you. Speaking of the rapid growth and government of our cities, Professor Ely reminds us that practically three ideas have obtained. The first was the purely political idea of managing cities as a matter of politics,—"to the victor belong the spoils." Our people are outgrowing that idea, though it is yet dominant in some cities. Then came a second class whose slogan was, the administration of our cities as a purely business affair,—"business is business,"—and if we put our municipalities upon a sound and solid financial business basis we shall have done all that we can hope to do. I presume there are many people in our country to-day who would stop at that one, as fulfilling the cities' weal. There is another company of people in our midst, however, who believe that we are just finding out that a man who is a business man only does not fulfil the possibilities of the situation. They would ask a man to put his whole soul to it, his mind, his life, and his services, and place them at the disposal of his fellow men; bring all his capabilities, his judgment and services, and offer them freely for the weal of his fellow men; and, therefore, it is declared to-day that the administration of our cities has a professional aspect that rises above the mere commercial and mere political aspects; that it asks the very best qualities as an offering in the interests of the people of the city, and in the interest of the government of this great republic.

Professor Ely reminds us that an advance has been made by some of the cities across the sea in this regard. He tells us that in some parts of

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Germany the cities advertise for their mayors, and that that official does not necessarily come from the metropolis over which he is Advertising for elected its mayor; but he is a carefully selected man, a Mayor. a man who has been educated in the universities for this purpose of administering the affairs of a great metropolis, and he is a man who is an expert in his way.

It is not my purpose to-night to discuss the question as to whether we in America shall strive for that ideal or not, but simply to call your attention to this one fact,—that a man, if he would do his best for his city, must give to it not only part, but all of himself; that there is precisely the same chance for a man to lay his whole self upon the altar of his city's interests that there is to lay his whole self upon the altar of his country's interests. Every man who thus gives his whole self to his city, even when he is away from it, with Kipling may comfort himself by saying under an alien sky, "of no mean city am I."

These friends have been welcomed properly by the Mayor, also by the Detroit Municipal League, and it simply remains for me to welcome the friends who are here for that treat which has been provided for us. There are great living, burning questions gathering around our municipalities, and some of these questions are to be presented to you this evening by the gentleman who is the Chairman of the Committee on Nomination Reform of the League. I have the great pleasure of presenting to you, as the speaker of the evening, Mr. Horace E. Deming, of New York, who will speak to you on nomination reform.

Mr. Deming then read an address on "The Meaning and Importance of Nomination Reform." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: This paper will be briefly discussed by Dr. Samuel E. Sparling, of the University of Wisconsin.

DR. SPARLING: The discussion of this question has assumed so violent a form in my state that it is well-nigh impossible for one hailing from that quarter to express himself even academically without inviting the charge of undue influence. But there are certain observations which seem properly justifiable.

The nomination of candidates directly by the voter, with all the safeguards of the general election, is founded upon the basic principle that government derives its power from the people, and that the proper exercise of this power demands that those officials charged with the control of governmental policy shall be directly selected by the people. This observation can not be readily denied, and then only on the ground of practicability, which is probably largely a theoretical assumption.

There are many who view this movement as an innovation of so radical a character as to warrant the public disapproval. With pride they point to the representative of the nominating convention, and to the political traditions of three-quarters of a century. But this view fails to appreciate the fact that institutions are not ends in themselves, but exist merely as the means to further public ends. When a system is open to manipulation to the extent of

defeating the will of the voter by the selection of candidates who fail to represent the public will upon leading public questions, it is time to modify tradition and seek relief in a system which promises a remedy, and brings the responsibilities of government nearer the people.

Furthermore, we must view this agitation, with its resulting charges, as one of the phases of the program which the friends of democratic government have outlined during the last century of political development. The key to the political evolution of the last century and a half is the principle of democracy, and the perfection of those institutions which have secured its proper working has naturally followed. During this time we have witnessed the expansion of the suffrage, the development of political parties, the wide use of the elective principle in the selection of public officials, the perfection of the Australian ballot, the growth of the merit system in our civil service, the larger use of the referendum, and in many other ways the government has been popularized and made responsible to the people.

The evolution of our nominating system has followed this larger recognition of the democratic principle. From the legislative and congressional caucus we passed to the nominating convention, largely because it conformed to the growing demand of the voter for a more definite control

The Evolution of the System. over the selection of candidates for public office. But while the old system was attacked as undemocratic, it found ardent supporters in the ranks of those who feared the supplanting of their power to control the nominations of party candidates. The nominating system prevailed because it was a nearer approach to our ideas of popular government. After three-quarters of a century of political education and change, the time seems at hand when a still further step should be taken in the interest of a more democratic system for the nomination of candidates. Consequently we should not view with alarm a step which brings the intelligence of the voter to bear directly upon the selection of party candidates who are ultimately to control the processes of legislation and administration. It is urged not only as extending the responsibility of the voter, but also as an educational movement of great value, since it will arouse civic interest and tend to emphasize issues and principles and to clarify the public mind in general upon vital public questions. It will not sacrifice the personal element in our political life, but will bring out personal responsibility in official life in the enactment of definite policies into law.

The enactment of primary legislation will doubtless rapidly follow with the successful results which have attended its use in the states which have recently adopted this system for the selection of state and local officers. The sentiment is rapidly growing, and is the result of a wide-spread feeling that the processes of government should be brought closer to the people.

DR. BOYNTON: Dr. Schaiper, of the University of Minnesota, will be the second speaker.

DR. SCHAIKER: I did not come to Detroit to take part in these discussions. I came here to see, hear and learn something from the veterans in this move-

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ment who have given so much consideration to the subject of reform. It has touched us in far away Minnesota and we have reaped some fruits from the work done by these men. I came **The Minneapolis Primary System.** here with the intention of catching some of that same spirit that these men have shown,—the men who, I believe, have really saved the reform movement in this country, who have saved the reform movement from being ruined by the visionaries and dreamers on the one hand, and the pessimists on the other, who have entered upon a program of consideration which is bearing actual fruit, and a proper kind of fruit.

I was asked this afternoon to tell you of something we have had in the way of a system of direct nomination of candidates in the state of Minnesota. I would rather be a witness ten years hence than now; I could then tell more about the good results. At the present time we have had too little experience with it to really have gained much information to give to others who are struggling for such a system.

Minnesota entered upon the experiment in the year 1899 at the regular biennial session of the legislature. In that year an act was passed empowering counties having over 200,000 inhabitants to nominate their city and county candidates, and candidates for the state legislature and congress, by a system of direct nomination, instead of the old convention system. There is only one county in the state that has such a large population, and that county is Hennepin. It meant directly the city of Minneapolis, for the city limits are almost coterminous with the county, although not quite. It was the intention of the legislature to experiment in one county, to see how the law would work.

The provisions of the law were rather elaborate, so I will refer to only the main features of it. It provided that on the first registration day, (there being three of them) when the voter appears to have his name placed upon the polling list, he was to have a chance to vote for the candidates to be voted for at the general election. The method of voting was just the same as at a general election and with the same election officers; with the difference, of course, that on this Australian ballot there were a great many candidates for the same parties and under the same head. There were necessarily a large number of candidates alphabetically arranged, so that the voter could not vote a straight ticket by putting a cross at the head of his party's name, but he had to vote for separate candidates.

The result in Hennepin County for the year 1900 was not altogether satisfactory. The man who was nominated for Mayor of Minneapolis was perhaps one of the worst citizens the city had ever produced. It was rather a bad result, it must be confessed. Nevertheless all the members of the city council were splendid men and all the other officers elected were satisfactory; so that the people of Minnesota did not lose faith in that experiment. At the very next session of the Legislature this law was extended to apply to the whole state, and was made applicable to all officers excepting the governor, secretary of state, treasurer and auditor, and officers like that. Congressmen and members of the lower house, all the county officers and the city officers were included.

We have had one general election under this system in 1902. The results were satisfactory to the people. The question was very much discussed in the papers at the time of the election, and immediately afterwards, and a movement was started to have the law modified very seriously, and another to have it killed; but the Legislature, which has just adjourned, turned down every single one of these propositions. There were some very slight modifications made, but they were mere matters of routine.

Results Satisfactory. There was one question in regard to the law that raised some serious discussion, and that was as to whether the voter should be made to declare his party allegiance at the time he got his ballot. Under the present law the voter must say which ballot he wants,—whether a Republican ballot or a Democratic ballot, so that every one can know, under the present system, to which party the man belongs. It was suggested that the law might be so modified that the voter could be given one ballot which contained all the offices nominated by the people, placed under their separate party heads and be instructed in the manner of voting for the candidates under one head only; then nobody would know which one of those lists he was voting. That argument was made and rather strongly supported upon the ground that a great many officers, and especially employees in large cities, refused to vote upon the day of the primary election for the reason that they didn't like to disclose their party allegiance, that it might hurt them. The other plan would give them some possible cover.

The direct nomination system has caused us to think a good deal; it has raised new features that we did not think of before. Certainly it necessitates a great deal of publicity. There is a premium placed upon publicity. A man who is best known is likely to be the man whom the people will nominate. So that the man who has been in office and been prominently before the people for some years is more likely to be selected than another man, and quite naturally, because the people can not unite upon a man who has not been discussed a good deal.

Another result is a campaign of advertising; it was perfectly furious before the first election. The popular candidates have their portraits posted, and trees, fence-posts and everything else are literally covered with their portraits.

DR. BOYNTON: The meeting stands adjourned.

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

BARBOUR GYMNASIUM, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN,
Friday, A. M., April 24, 1903.

Vice-president Richardson in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The meeting will come to order. I take pleasure in presenting President Angell, who will address the meeting.

PRESIDENT ANGELL: I rise simply to express the pleasure that the University feels at your having kindly arranged to come out to spend the day with

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us. You will be addressed enough during the day, so that I will not address you now beyond expressing our gratification at your coming; therefore I leave the meeting in the hands of your Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are all very grateful to the President and Senate of the University for their kind invitation to us to come out here to-day. It is one of the most encouraging features of our work, the tendency we have noticed in the last few years of the leading universities of the country to take a very active part in the teaching and investigation of municipal problems, and in supplying knowledge upon this subject at the present time.

The first item on our program this morning is a paper on "The Recent Experiences of Minneapolis," prepared by W. A. Frisbee, city editor of the *Minneapolis Journal*, which will be read by Mr. Francis B. James, of Cincinnati.

Mr. James then read Mr. Frisbee's paper on "The Municipal Experiences of Minneapolis." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next address is on the "Municipal Situation in Ohio," by Mr. Harry A. Garfield, President of the Cleveland Municipal Association.

Mr. Garfield then delivered an address on "The Municipal Situation in Ohio." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now have the pleasure of hearing a paper on "The Municipal Situation in Chicago," by Mr. Frank H. Scott, Vice-president of the Municipal Voters' League, of Chicago.

MR. SCOTT: I had hoped to have a paper which should be up-to-date, but certain important parts I wrote three days ago are antiquated. I have learned since I left Chicago that it is a hopeless effort to read a paper that shall be up-to-date as to Chicago's affairs unless you write it on the day you read it. Since I left Chicago two more events have occurred which will have some reference in connection with parts of my paper.

Mr. Scott then read his paper on "The Municipal Situation in Chicago." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There are many subjects pertaining to Chicago that it would be impossible to treat here without giving to them more time than would be proper at this time. I think it would be profitable to hear from Mr. Grosser sometime during the day on these matters; but at present I think we had better go on with our program.

The next paper will be upon "The Municipal Situation in Detroit," which will be read by one of the gentlemen who have been so active in providing for our entertainment while we have been here, Mr. Sherman D. Callendar, attorney for the Detroit Municipal League.

Mr. Callendar then read a paper on "The Municipal Situation in Detroit." (See Appendix.)

MR. WOODRUFF: I see that Dr. Wilder is here, but from the experience of yesterday afternoon, it has been suggested by the local members of the Committee on Arrangements that it might be profitable to have his paper come this afternoon at the general meeting in this Hall, and I therefore sug-

gest that after we hear Mr. Steven's brief address on the Cleveland Situation we postpone Dr. Wilder's paper until this afternoon; and that the paper of Mr. Symmes, on "The Municipal Situation in San Francisco," which is here, be received and printed as a part of the proceedings.

I make this suggestion, Mr. Chairman, as I have no doubt we shall want some time for the discussion of the papers we have had this morning, which are of an unusually high order, and will probably suggest to some, ideas that should come before the meeting; and as it is desirable to get back here on time, we should adjourn as promptly as possible.

MR. BUTLER: I take great pleasure, at the request and in behalf of the Executive Committee, in giving expression in the following resolution to the feeling of appreciation of the National Municipal League and our friends, to the Municipal League of Detroit, and the University League, of Ann Arbor.

Resolved, That the National Municipal League most heartily thanks its hosts in Detroit and Ann Arbor for their cordial and genuine hospitality.

This resolution was passed unanimously.

The motion of Mr. Woodruff, as stated above, was then carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: F. E. Stevens, Secretary of the Municipal Association of Cleveland, will speak briefly of recent municipal experiences in that city.

MR. STEVENS: In the brief time allotted me it will, of course, be impossible to do more than merely to touch upon the matters which might be discussed under this head.

Although the phrase "recent experiences" suggests rather the reception and proven effects of a policy than an outline of the policy itself, yet a word may be permitted descriptive of the principles by which the Municipal Association of Cleveland has been guided.

The bulletins of the Association have definitely announced that the Association is not an economic organization; that it does not concern itself with the views held by candidates on matters of public policy, Cleveland and that its recommendations are based solely upon the Municipal reputation and qualification of candidates for office. Association. Among the reasons which may be assigned for the taking of this attitude are:

1. It is believed that the recommendation of a good candidate will secure for him more support, and the antagonism of an unworthy candidate will more certainly stimulate opposition, if it is clearly understood that the opinions of the Association are based upon its information as to the honesty and efficiency of the aspirant to office.

When issue is made between honesty and dishonesty, between efficiency and inefficiency, there can be no genuine difference of opinion.

2. In the case of the city council it is desirable that a representative body should have in its numbers advocates of the various opinions on questions of public policy, to the end that extremes of action may be avoided and that advantage may be taken of the truths which any policy must contain if it receives for any length of time a considerable popular support.

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3. The Association strives to avoid duplication of work. The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce is more a good-government organization than a commercial body. When time and occasion have demanded, the Chamber of Commerce has not hesitated to devote itself to an examination of public measures, or to use its great influence in suggesting, directing and giving correct application to matters of municipal policy.

Within the year ending at this time, there have been two political campaigns in Cleveland, in both of which the Association took an active part.

The election of last fall evidences on the part of voters a gratifying independence of partisan ties and an appreciation of local needs. A detailed report of this election might be of interest, but the limit of time permits only the comment that but one candidate was elected who had the pronounced opposition of the Association, and his election was secured by a narrow margin. Candidates were elected on both tickets by pluralities ranging from 600 to 9,000.

The election this spring was more nearly along party lines. It may be said, however, in extenuation of this municipal offense, that the issues of the campaign were entirely local and that the Democrats offered what was subsequently proved to be the more popular program. And further, from the point of view of the Association, this election cannot be regarded as a disaster, because, on the whole, the personnel of the Democratic ticket was good, and the Association favored more candidates on the Democratic ticket than on the Republican.

Among recent experiences is the imposition upon us from without of a form of government widely differing from that under which we have been operating for ten years past. The so-called "Federal Plan" of government under which Cleveland had been attempting to work out its salvation had become decidedly popular. Roughly speaking, the new form approaches that which has for some time been in force in Cincinnati. Doubtless the Clevelanders who yesterday heard Mr. Atkin's description of the beneficent results obtained in Cincinnati under the form of government previously in force there had some dismal forebodings dispelled, because they have had held up to them the possibility, under the new code, of a descent into the boss-ridden and generally deplorable condition under which Cincinnati was represented as laboring.

Optimism seems to be the spirit of this gathering. A few items selected at random from among Cleveland's recent experiences, may serve further to

Grounds for Optimism. quicken this spirit. The public schools are now, in no way, subjected to partisan influence. The Board of Education is composed of persons of high character and qualifications.

The merit system is completely in force in the department of instruction and almost completely in force in the executive department.

Under the supervision of Professor E. W. Bemis, the Water Works Department, which had been at times peculiarly the prey of the spoilsman, enjoys a

practical merit system, and this despite the fact that the law makes no provision therefor.

The newly elected Board of Public Service, which will have in charge the greater part of the city's business and which by its statutory constitution is admirably adapted to serve the ends of machine politics, is composed of fit men of undoubted integrity. The feeling actuating this board may be inferred from a statement recently made by one of its members. He said, "The law does not require the employment of the merit system, neither does it prohibit it; therefore I believe the merit system should be employed because I construe public service to mean the service of the public."

Cleveland is not easily satisfied. The dwellers in some cities might regard it as hyper-critical. Constant agitation has brought it to pass that the cry not only of citizens but of party leaders is, "We must nominate good men. We cannot win unless we do."

Finally, it is entirely within the bounds of conservative statement to say that, so far as the general ticket is concerned, it is no longer possible for a notoriously unfit man to be elected to office in Cleveland.

Mr. GROSSER: The paper of Mr. Scott is so full I can hardly add to it; but it occurred to me while listening to the various papers regarding the situations in the various cities, that wherever there was cause for censure the censure was strictly given to the mayor of the city. We have that in the paper on Minneapolis, we heard it in the paper touching the St. Louis administrations, and, while I fully agree with the gentlemen in regard to those papers, I believe that when we hear of mayors in other cities who deserve credit for their work we should not hesitate to express it.

The conditions of hopefulness existing in Chicago to-day, not only of hopefulness, but of fulfilled hope in many instances, are, I believe, to a great extent due to the work of its present chief executive, Carter H. Harrison. Very many reforms that have been introduced in the city government,—and I don't hesitate to state that in municipal reform Chicago has probably made greater strides than any other city,—are largely due to the efforts of his administration. As Mr. Scott has told you, the civil service system is strictly enforced in Chicago. It has 10,000 employees; including the employees of the public schools it has nearly 15,000, and very few are employed who are not under the civil service system, except those that are exempt under the law, including only the members of the Law Department, the police judges, bailiffs and the bridge tenders,—outside of those departments, even the heads of the various departments are all under civil service.

You have heard, in Dr. Cleveland's paper, about the accounting system and its reorganization. While it is true that, primarily, the Merchants' Association began the work of reform to the extent that they Chicago. have asked permission to look at and inspect the books, it was the effort of the administration to have the system introduced.

The situation, in regard to questions of municipal ownership, is a very peculiar one. Mr. Scott, in his paper, has outlined the demands of the people

of Chicago to-day, in regard to its street railway situation. Permit me to say that in 1899 Mayor Harrison, in his annual message, laid down the very lines which to-day are demanded by the people of Chicago, and, in spite of opposition at that time from various bodies, in spite of opposition on the part of the newspapers at that time, he steadfastly stuck right to this proposition to attain a cardinal point, the passage of an enabling act; and I do not think that either party, or the people in general, could get an enabling act from the Legislature, if he had not been a man of sufficient backbone, and sufficient honesty to stick to his word and refuse to grant any franchise unless such an enabling act was passed.

That was one of his first demands. The second was the ninety-nine-year act, so called, that contained a referendum clause that no franchise shall be granted by the City Council or shall have validity until approved by a majority of the people at the coming election. I will state, in addition, that reforms are noticeable in every single department of the city administration.

One thing which has so much added to the popular sentiment in behalf of municipal ownership has been the excellent management of two departments in Chicago; i. e., the Department of Electricity, which lights the streets of Chicago, and has reduced the cost from \$102 per lamp, in 1897, to \$53 in 1902. Also the excellent management of the Water Department, which, although its collections have grown, is to-day managed at less cost than before. The water-rates in Chicago were reduced twice during the last four years, so that the citizens of Chicago in the reduction of the water-rates were saved something like \$1,800,000.

MR. DEMING: Mr. Chairman, I rise to make a correction; then to make a comment. Mr. Garfield inadvertently gave the impression that it is provided in the Municipal Program of this League that there shall be municipal ownership of public utilities. On the contrary, it is provided that each town shall have the right to decide for itself whether it shall or shall not own and control the public utilities. It is home-rule doctrine that Cleveland shall decide the question for itself, and not be given Cincinnati medicine to Cleveland.

Now for the comment. There was one lesson, it seemed to me most important to the study of municipal government, given by the very clear and instructive paper of Mr. Scott, on the work of the Chicago Municipal Voters' League. It has been a part of the teaching of this League that our city governments are not representative in their management and conduct of the business of the city; and that not until there is real local independence and simple machinery created, whereby the people can control the power and the expenditures for local needs, can we have real, permanent home rule in our cities based on the true principles of democracy.

Now, could we have a more illuminating and informing lesson of the need of the work which this League has projected than Mr. Scott has given us in the wonderful work of that wonderful town, Chicago? Why, Mr. President, and gentlemen, Mr. Scott presents us with a sort of assisted democracy in Chicago. It means the government of Chicago by the representative men

of Chicago. Now, what is the lesson? If we are to depend upon the patriotism of the politician or even of representative men for permanent democracy, we won't get it. [Applause.]

MR. SCOTT: The gentleman has put his finger upon what we all realize to be the weakness of our organization, and we are hoping for and looking forward to some way out of the situation. It depends now upon individual effort. The individuals may not be there. It should be crystallized in some permanent form. It is the people's, not an individual enterprise.

DR. BEMIS: I think that the paper on Detroit must have forced upon the League evidence of the great strength of the Municipal Program of this League. For who could hear that admirable portrayal without seeing the absolute necessity of giving cities that right to govern themselves which our program stands for? A better illustration of it, it seems to me, could not be afforded; and we find it in every city of the country. It is the trouble with us in Ohio, as has been in a way suggested by Mr. Garfield.

When that municipal code was under discussion, if I understand it right, there was only one out of all those who appeared before the committee who favored such a code as ours; nearly all favored some home-rule development, and then it was suggested that the State Constitution stood in the way; but when an amendment was proposed to call upon the people to amend the State Constitution, it was voted down by a strict party vote; showing that those who failed to give the right of city home rule, as our program calls for, on the ground of the State Constitution forbidding it, would not allow the people to vote at the coming election to change the State Constitution, and that that was not in reality what was standing in the way.

The enthronement of cities is what will undoubtedly follow nomination reform and the right of the people to vote directly on franchise questions. These I think are the necessary steps, and the only steps which will be needed to bring the merit system and the other things we want. There is growing up an embarrassment in the community to people who are willing to serve the public, and it is discouraging, when they find they have to go to the Legislature of the state for everything; and until we can relieve our people from that embarrassment it is very difficult to get the proper sentiment into our city governments. It is remarkable how people are coming to see it all over the country.

MR. GARFIELD: May I ask one question of Mr. Scott? The work of the Voters' League, of Chicago, particularly interests those of us in Cleveland who are interested in the Cleveland Municipal Association, because the line of work is precisely that which has been followed in Cleveland, so far as the city council is concerned; and we have extended the principles to other departments, thereby making great progress. But in one particular Mr. Scott tells us of that which has seemed to the Cleveland Association to be a mistake. Perhaps we are wrong. The position of the Cleveland Municipal Association has always been in opposition to the practice of pledging; it has seemed to us that the selection of representatives upon the basis of efficiency and honesty is the question. The fact that the Voters' League has followed

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another course suggests the propriety of it, and I should like to hear a word from Mr. Scott on that point.

MR. SCOTT: I would correct the gentleman upon that. We have no pledge except a pledge against some things that possibly may be criticized. We find it necessary to know if the candidates generally are in favor of the principles of the organization, and are in favor of civil service reform in city government. We ask them in order to make up a ticket based upon certain things, but as to any other matters we ask no pledge of any candidate. The platform which we present is not a pledge. The question does not depend upon whether he does or does not sign the pledge, but it may be taken into consideration as showing his fitness for the position. He may modify it, or he may give his views upon one or two public questions in our platform, and they may be directly contrary to our platform, and yet we may support or recommend the man.

The pledge this year was the referendum; that is, simply as a question of public policy, not as to details. Upon the questions of franchises and upon the questions of direct public policy we make to the people a statement of the position of candidates, but even that is not insisted upon in every case.

DR. SPARLING: I should like to ask if they sign the statement of their position on municipal affairs,—that they shall be conducted upon the policy adopted by the Municipal League.

MR. SCOTT: Not to that effect. It is simply a statement to the people of the position of a candidate, but not as to any matter which shall come up before the council.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it would be interesting to have Mr. Scott answer one further question. That is, whether the great interest in the question of street-railway franchises in Chicago has or has not been of great assistance in the work of the Voters' League in promoting its efficiency in securing better government.

MR. SCOTT: It has brought the League into prominence, as it has helped to bring about what I should consider a very desirable situation, inasmuch as it has drawn off its watered stock into the hands of a receiver.

DR. HARTWELL: I want to ask one further question,—whether they can measure the increase in the voters on local affairs. I have had occasion to study the matter in Boston as to the proportion of actual votes to the possible vote,—that is to say, the percentage of the registered voters who actually cast their votes. We have been taking a period of ten years; the highest percentage was about 85 per cent on presidential elections; next to that comes the vote for mayor. The vote for mayor takes place now once in two years. The vote for governor has been below the vote for mayor or the vote on the common council or the vote for school committee. The average voter turns out on national questions, questions that are very much discussed, and that he, from discussion in the newspapers, thinks she knows about, and for his local representative in the ward. For instance, there are three common-councilmen from each ward, and there are always raised questions in each ward in which he is interested, but the neighboring candidates don't arouse his interest.

Is there any way of measuring the increased average of the votes on local questions in Chicago, since the Voters' League has been gaining so great advantage?

MR. SCOTT: I think possibly Mr. Grosser is better prepared upon that subject than I am. I must confess it is a very important question, but it did not occur to me. I should say that I think about the same vote is cast in aldermanic elections as for the mayor, possibly less; still, the interest is very large. A very considerable vote is cast, but in the presence of Mr. Grosser I don't want to guess at it, and I will ask him.

MR. GROSSER: I really could not give the percentage of the vote, but I can state that, since the existence of the League, in purely aldermanic elections the vote has increased, and there is a larger vote cast since the Voters' League came into the field than there was before.

Adjourned to meet at 2.30 P. M. in the same hall.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am requested to call the meeting to order. The time is so short I will not make any remarks. We have several speakers to hear who must take an early train to Detroit, and I will, therefore, merely express my pleasure in your coming here and again express the great interest felt among the body of students and the faculty. We regret that more were not able to be here this morning. We thank you for the addition you are making to our knowledge upon this subject.

The first speaker on the program is J. Horace McFarland, of Harrisburg, Pa.

MR. MCFARLAND: The thing that strikes me as worthy of mention this afternoon comes from the presiding officer at yesterday afternoon's meeting of the National Municipal League. There had there been presented a paper taking up certain improved methods of accounting for municipalities, in the use of which a large saving was shown to have been made by the City of Chicago. If I mistake not, the saving was something like a million of dollars. The presiding officer said, "And that saving has been made directly in consequence of the principles laid down by this league, a body of dreamers!" That is the point I desire to emphasize this afternoon, that great results follow dreams. No great movement, no great effort, no great achievement of any kind has had other origin than that of some one's dream.

Without an idea taking form in the mind of some dreaming man, little is done. I know nothing of the history of this great educational institution, but I venture to say that it is the result of a dream. We know that the discovery of this continent upon which it is situated was the result of a dream—almost a nightmare,—on the part of the poor man who first had it! If, then, we can dream here,—if this body of reformers can dream about better conditions, we can go very far toward bringing about on this beauti-

ful earth the heavenly conditions which we are taught to believe are possible.

A dream is a good thing, but a dream of the end only, a dream that charms during the years, with nothing of work between, is either a "castle in Spain" or a nightmare. The end must be seen, and Dreamers. all the steps in between must be seen also, if the dream is to come true.

What is the meaning of this term, a perfect municipality? The meaning of that term is personal effort along all the lines that are laid down before us. Personal righteousness—personal cleanliness, you might say, which is the very beginning; then family cleanliness, then town cleanliness, then the greater organization, the city cleanliness, state cleanliness and national perfection. All along the line is a question of the individual doing his work as well as he knows how to do it. If anything is to be gained from all this that we have heard, it is simply this, that the dream of the perfect community will be realized if the integral members of that community will, each one of us, resolve to do every day the thing that makes for that community wherever it appears, with our hands, with our eyes, with our minds, and with our votes. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure we all feel inspired by these remarks of Mr. McFarland. I now have the pleasure of presenting to you the Secretary of the League, Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, of Philadelphia, who has contributed so greatly to the success of the work of this body and to the promotion of a sound public sentiment on municipal matters in this country. Mr. Woodruff.

MR. WOODRUFF: The inexorable time-table compels me to be brief, but I think I can give you my message in the time at my disposal. It is this: All the great men are not dead, all the great opportunities are not past.

There is a disposition on the part of certain classes to long for the good old times; to speak as if there were nothing left for the present to do but bewail its misfortune and pine for the days when things were different, and by inference better. I, for one, do not subscribe to any such theory. It is not wholesome. It does not make for the upbuilding of our country and its institutions. These are the days of the greatest opportunities, and there are those all about us who are contributing as mightily to the country's good as those who lived in the times of "the fathers."

Look about you, just along the lines in which this Present League is interested. Think of the splendid opportunities. Think of the splendid opportunities for usefulness, yes, greatness if you please, then see how splendidly they are being utilized.

There is Joseph W. Folk, a young man under forty. The story of what he has done for St. Louis' regeneration has been told us at this meeting. There is Jerome, in New York. Read the story of his "Fight for a City," and tell me after you have read that, and Mr. Blair's account of Folk's work, if the day of great accomplishments is past. Read what the young men of Chicago, through the Municipal Voters' League, have done;

read what the Garfield boys have done in Cleveland, and what David P. Jones did in Minneapolis after the downfall of the notorious Ames administration, and then tell me if there is any lack of opportunity in these days, any lack of men to meet the occasion.

As President Roosevelt said in his speech at Harvard, General Wood had done those things in Cuba which, if accomplished three thousand years ago, would have become a sun-myth and made of him a very god. So with these achievements to which I have referred and to recitals of which we have listened,—and they are but illustrative of what is going on all over the country.

There is great need for competent, faithful, public-spirited men. Great opportunities lie before them, and the college man and the college woman have a duty and a privilege the like of which has never before been presented. Let us recall the lines of Emerson, and go forward:

"We think we have reached the zenith of our civilization,

We are but at the cock-crowing and the dawn." [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: We will next have the pleasure of listening to a paper by Dr. Amos Parker Wilder, on "The Municipal Situation in Wisconsin."

Dr. Wilder then read a paper on "The Municipal Situation in Wisconsin." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: You will all remember that Wisconsin originally belonged to Michigan. I think we begin to regret that we let her go. There is a gentleman in the audience whom we have had the pleasure of seeing often enough and hearing often enough so that we regard him as an old acquaintance and a friend, and I am sure we cannot hear him too often or indeed often enough, and I am certain that I cannot gratify this audience more than by asking Mr. Garfield to say a few words before we separate.

MR. GARFIELD: I should like to talk to you for a few moments on "margins." Not broker's margins, but margins secured and developed by college work, manifested by the attainments, powers and learning which fit us easily to make a living, and leave over a margin of time to be devoted to something, good or bad, helpful or harmful, for ourselves or for others. I will illustrate what I mean. Every young man who comes to Ann Arbor and improves his opportunities gets an education that represents a margin contributed to his future work. After graduation, and entrance into the world, he owes a duty. I do not mean to the school or college which has furnished the education, but a higher duty to be performed for the community; not a duty in consideration of education received, but a duty to employ worthily and usefully that which has been committed to his charge. Of course, the first business of every young man leaving school or college to take his place in the world is to provide for himself. He must understand the necessity of supporting self, and also of supporting those who are dependent upon him. When this is done, when he has gotten just a little ahead, so that a few hours of the week or month can be devoted to something besides the business of earning a living, what is he to do with this margin of time? This margin is owed to the public. But how shall the

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obligation be discharged? Is it necessary to run for office, to mix with politicians and ward-heelers? So far as office-holding is concerned, that is not necessary. Indeed, it is not advisable at first. Later, when you have learned something—and I assure you what has been learned out of books will be of the least possible value at the outset—when experience has revealed to you your own powers and weaknesses, then the duty may rest upon you to accept office. But, at first, all should be workers in the ranks, and each should contribute his share without permitting the virus of political life to influence his thoughts or actions. It is a great school, greater than the college or the university, because it is the school of actual life. What you have learned here in these halls will prove of inestimable value, but its greatest value will appear to you after you have passed some of the primary grades in the great school of life. And, before I leave this subject, I desire to pay tribute where it is justly due. The men who make up the so-called politicians and ward-heelers of our cities, are by no means as bad a lot as we think them. I have a good many times acted as judge of elections, and have come into fairly close contact with this class of our fellow citizens. At the last election I was appointed to one of the booths in a district that had been pronounced corrupt, and where trouble was expected,—a district peopled by an untrained, poverty-stricken, shifting, foreign population, and by that class of American citizens who, willingly or unwillingly, have dropped back from the ranks of the prosperous. After a long day in the booth, I went over to my club to get the returns; and I say to you frankly, that I felt as though the day had been better spent than the evening. In the club were fellows I like very much, many of them my particular friends; but, for the most part, the crowd was sitting about drinking, smoking, joking and finding fault with everybody because things did not go their way. They were just as selfishly interested, and in many respects, I think, more so than the class of citizens I had met that day in the booth. The men at the club had better trained minds, more cultivated manners, were more agreeable as companions; but the men in the booth, if they did not think so logically, thought more—much more, about questions affecting the body politic—than the men at the club. Ugly rumors of attempts at election frauds had been brought to my ears on the morning of that day; but I did not find it difficult to persuade the election officers to follow courses calculated to prevent fraud. Formerly, for example, it had been customary in that district to mark ballots for those unable to read or write; but when I pointed out the illegality of the procedure, all were willing at once to follow the law. The day passed without incident; and, after the first bristling of opposing interests, there was displayed a spirit of kindness and consideration, of thoughtfulness for the comfort of others, such as I am accustomed to find among my associates; while the zealous interest displayed in all questions pertaining to the city's welfare was far greater, and the opinions expressed were quite as patriotic in tone as one hears at the club. The men at the booth were earnest, they were sincere, and, for the most part, cheerful, considerate companions; and I say to you, that I went home that night, as I

have on many another similar occasion, with the feeling that, on the whole, there was more real happiness to be gained in the life lived by the men I had associated with that day than in the life I and my friends at the club usually make for ourselves. [Applause.]

Of course, my friends at the club will say: "That's all right. Garfield comes up here and talks that way because, having spent a day in an election booth, he plumes himself on having done his duty, and now comes here and criticises us. We are just as good citizens as he, only we don't talk so much about it." Well, my friends, I am ready to grant that; but it does not change the facts concerning the two classes, and I believe I interpret it aright. So I say to you: Go out into the political world and begin to do something. Don't imagine that you can reconstruct society or reform evils by the mere pronouncement of things gleaned from books and based on logical deductions. It would be easier to figure out the conflicting currents and onward rush of the waters of Niagara by mathematical calculations based upon the formation of the bottom and sides of the stream and the physical properties of water, than to deduce, by logical reasoning, the currents and onward flow of governments and society. The only logic possible is the logic of events, and the man who understands most of the phases of human nature, with its desires, its yearnings, its hopes, ambitions, miseries, sorrows and disappointments, will come nearest to understanding what is needed to reform the evils of the community and to set a misguided government upon a true course. Begin to do something, but begin your activity, as Mr. Deming has suggested, in your own city, your own town, your own smaller community and circle of friends.

Just by way of illustrating what may be done, let me tell you of how the Municipal Association of Cleveland began its work. It was organized in 1896, and the first thing its Executive Committee set about doing was to inform itself. We had some notions. We knew that something ought to be done; but what that something was and how to go about it was a closed book to us. I pledge you, we didn't know how to go to work to get an ordinance passed. We could not have given an intelligent account of the methods pursued by the city council. We didn't know much about government. We had the crudest notions of the various classes in the community. So, to inform ourselves, we visited city hall, attended council meetings, met officials and lastly we directed our secretary, who was a young man accustomed to mix with the various peoples of the city, to invite in, for a series of Saturday evenings, the labor leaders of the city, that we might know people of a different class from that with which we associated. We thus met the leaders of organized labor, and with them also representative laborers, who were non-union men. We sat facing each other like hostile cats and dogs. The labor leaders wanted to know what they were there for. They supposed we had an axe to grind, and that we were going to try to "do" them in some political game. They came to hear the program, and probably to spurn it. But, before the first evening was over, we convinced them that our purpose was laudable; that we came there to be informed, not to preach any doctrine, or to propose anything, but, if possible, to learn their point of view and show

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them ours. From this beginning much was accomplished; we understood many things that, before, we could not comprehend. The last evening we met the president of one of the labor organizations, with tears in his eyes, thanked us for making the meetings possible, saying that they had led to friendly intercourse and a better understanding; that he, for one, had always theretofore supposed that people of our class were inaccessible, cold and unfriendly, but that now they would be glad to see us at any time, and were glad to know that they might come to our offices and talk with us frankly.

Gentlemen, this is one of the ways in which citizens of a great community can accomplish something toward the betterment of its citizens. It is one of the ways of employing the margins secured by educated men. I do not mean to say that it is the only way, nor the best way in all communities; but, wherever you go, it is certainly necessary first to understand before you can sympathize with your neighbors. You will find that the workingman thinks more on questions of public welfare than we do. It is part of your business, for a brief period in college, to give some attention to these things; but many of us, who are out in the world and occupied with its affairs, devote an extremely small portion of our time to public questions of vital importance. The workingman is constantly thinking,—on his way to his shop, as he bends over his bench, at the recess hour and on his way home. For the most part, his work does not preoccupy him to the exclusion of these subjects. But, as I have said, though they think more, they do not think so correctly, and they need the friendship and guidance of educated men.

I beseech you that, as you go out from your alma mater, you take up these problems, devote your margin of time, your margin of intellect, to the public rather than to yourselves. Be practical politicians, but clean-handed and high-minded. Make office-holding the incident rather than the aim of your activities. Believe in your city, believe in the people, in every man, whether he is rich or poor, educated or uneducated, if only he be a true man. Do these things, my friends, and I believe you will have contributed to the public that which must be contributed, if we are to maintain our Republic.
[Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure we are under the greatest obligation to these gentlemen who have come here and spoken to us these words of wisdom and counsel and encouragement to-day. I can only repeat our expressions of gratitude to them for having come at all. I might wish that they had had a more auspicious sky under which to speak. I might wish, also, that many more of our students could have been present to have profited by these instructions. As our friends are obliged to take a train for Detroit, I suppose it will be advisable to close this meeting, unless some member of the League has some suggestion to make before we separate. If there is no business of the League that needs to be attended to, I will take the liberty of declaring this meeting adjourned.

APPENDIX

**CONTAINING THE PAPERS READ BEFORE THE
DETROIT CONFERENCE
FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT**

The Meaning and Importance of Nomination Reform

By HORACE E. DEMING, Esq., New York

Chairman Committee on Nomination Reform

We are so familiar to-day with the representative idea in government, it seems so commonplace and matter of course, that we are apt to lose sight of its tremendous **The Representative Idea.** importance. Perhaps, some of us have never given more than a passing thought to it. But it is literally true that the very possibility of the existence on any large scale of true democratic government anywhere, and, as I believe, of its ultimate predominance everywhere, at least throughout that part of the world in which western civilization prevails, depends upon the intelligent application of the representative principle.

Nation-Building. In a small and homogeneous community, dwelling in a limited territory, and with few public interests, the governmental machinery may be very simple and yet satisfy every public need. The people may gather from time to time in primary assembly—like the New England town-meeting of the early days—and directly control the public policy. We have reason to believe that there have been many instances of such small primitive communities, both in historic and prehistoric times. But, in the very nature of things, no community can occupy permanently a purely isolated position. It must have dealings with other communities. Given a number of such communities, with many questions of inter-community policy constantly arising, especially if the communities differ among themselves in wealth and population, and presently the need arises of some common central authority acting directly upon each community and upon the members of all the communities. There

is then grave risk that local independence, and, with it, the participation of the people in determining community policy, may vanish and a strong centralized government be superimposed. If we look back through the centuries, we find that this is precisely what has been taking place from the earliest times throughout the western world, except upon English soil, and in countries peopled by English-speaking folk. The reason is obvious. Until a comparatively recent time, except in English-speaking lands, there was no method through which political concert of action between separate communities could be peacefully secured, and at the same time, the local independence, the self-government of the separate communities preserved. History teaches that democratic government first shows itself in free, self-governing small communities, but that it is a necessary condition and an inevitable accompaniment of political progress that these separate communities should combine into larger and larger groups, each group under a central authority. This process,—now slow, now rapid,—of consolidation constitutes nation-building.

On the continent of Europe the consolidating or nation-making process produced its results by forcibly superimposing

The Continental and English Methods. a strong centralized government upon the communities consolidated; in England the central authority has gradually been developed and

built up out of the self-directed action of the members of the separate communities submitting to its control. The historical explanation for this marked difference between the political development of England and the continent I cannot enter upon now, but the distinction between the two methods of political growth is vital and the differing political consequences of the two methods have been and are of vast consequence. The Continental method destroyed local independence, belittled the importance of any participation by the people in directing governmental policy, tended to establish and did establish absolutism. Not until a comparatively recent date, and then as a result of the influence of English political ideas, was there in the Continental scheme any recognition of the people save as subjects. The English

method fostered and increased local independence, enlarged the participation by the people in directing governmental policy, destroyed absolutism. The Continental method made subjects; the English created freemen.

The all-important difference between the two methods of nation-building and the underlying cause of the sturdy growth of free political institutions in England was **Two Methods.** the practical effectiveness there of the principle that political concert of action can be accomplished by the people of the communities concerned through the selection of delegates to represent their interests in the concert. The many discordant communities and mutually hostile little kingdoms which divided old-time England have been welded into one united, harmonious political whole, through the gradual growth and development of the efficiency of the representative principle as a practical instrument in nation-building. The process was long; the successive steps difficult; the outcome often in doubt. Absolutism, royal prerogative, irresponsible arbitrary power were on one side; on the other, the determination of the people to have their own representatives participate in the conduct of the Government. Magna Charta and Parliament were won at frightful cost. In due course came the war for American independence, where the underlying issue was on the one side royal prerogative, and on the other the right of the people through their representatives to a direct voice in the conduct of the Government. The principle of representation triumphed.

Tested by any standard, the principle of representation is the most important of the means through which democratic government may be achieved or such measure of democracy as has already been gained may be preserved and defended. If there is any lesson to be drawn from political history, it is that, without the practical and efficient application of that principle, free government on any considerable scale is impossible. There must be political union or there can be no political concert of action. There can be no political concert of action without a central coördinating

The Representative Principle Essential to Democracy.

authority. That authority must be either superimposed from without, and so irresponsible to the governed, who are then literally subjects ; or established by, representative of, and so responsible and responsive to the governed, who are then first, in any true sense, freemen. No one will dispute the truth of this statement in the light of history. Nor will any reflecting and intelligent man dispute that in the United States, with its vast territory, complex industrial civilization and millions of people, the political question transcending to-day all others in importance is how to make the government representative of, and responsible to, the governed.

The government intended by the men who framed the Federal Constitution was to be a government by the select, **The Government Framed by the Fathers.** the most patriotic. Even in such hands they distrusted the demoralizing effects of exercising authority over others. They had thoroughly learned the great truth that the possessor of political power had, throughout all history, abused those subject to the power. They endeavored to guard against this danger by various ingenious devices for apportioning and subdividing political authority among different depositaries, so that the natural tendency of each to exalt and enlarge his authority would be set over against the same tendency on the part of all the others. A government by checks and balances was to be the result, wherein was to be no sudden, ill-considered action, and the abuse of political power by its possessor was to be effectively restrained. The population for which this government was intended was small and homogeneous ; the civilization of the time was simple ; the directions in which governmental action was thought to be desirable, or even needful, were few. The greatest of political dangers to the men of 1787 was an unnecessarily strong government. It was against the oppressions and abuses of such a government that they and their fathers had waged fierce battle for centuries. It is not strange that neither they nor their contemporaries in England had any but a very faint conception that the surest preventive of the abuse of the governed by the governor was to make the governor accountable to the governed for his use of

power,—dependent upon the governed for his tenure of power. It is easy enough for us of this generation to see that the real significance of the American War of Independence, for England as for America, was the immense stimulus it gave to the efficiency of the representative principle as a means of political union. To the men of that time, who had just emerged from an exhausting struggle with royal prerogative exerted through a subservient, king-owned Parliament, the most impressive lesson of the troubled time since the accession of George the Third to the English throne was the enormous evil of concentrated political power. It was natural, therefore, that the government they framed divided and scattered the power; and their distrust of the political wisdom of even the very limited portion of the population—not more than one in twenty-eight of which had the privilege of voting in those days—was shown not only by the careful provisions for an intermediate electoral body that should choose every fourth year the President for a four-year term, for another intermediate electoral body that every third year should choose a Senator for a six-year term, and for a two-year term for members of the lower house of Congress chosen directly by the votes of the limited popular electorate, but also by the fact that they imbedded the framework of the government they devised in a constitution most difficult of amendment.

The country grew rapidly, and the wonderful development of the nineteenth century soon multiplied occasions for governmental action. The rigid constitutional machinery proved slow-moving, and, through lack of any central co-ordinating authority, was often inefficient. It was found, too, that the division of authority dissipated responsibility. But emergencies had to be met, and the cumbrous constitutional organism had to be quickened and energized, if the government was to endure; and political parties undertook the task of supplying the central co-ordinating authority and enforcing responsibility for its exercise. There seemed no other way of carrying on an energetic, efficient government, with definite aims and policies, and of holding those in public

**Development of
Political
Parties and
Partisanship.**

office to account. The questions of public policy and the course of public action which the United States Government was constantly called upon to decide and to follow were of absorbing interest and importance, and the very difficulties and obstructions caused by the rigid constitutional mechanism aggravated the intensity of political partisanship, until men came to hold their political beliefs with the fervor, and, not seldom, with the bigotry, of religious zealots.

By the time the United States had completed its first century, its actual government was very different from the

Changes in the Actual Government. government conceived by the framers of the constitution, though their unamendable framework remained. Public affairs, instead of being

in the charge of agents carefully chosen by a selected class of picked men, were conducted by the agents of political parties, and according to the ideas of the man or men who ruled the political party organizations. The same result had followed in the several states, and for substantially the same reasons. And, since the most interesting, most important and most pressing political questions during this period had been those affecting the very life of the Nation, the political parties into which men were divided were national political parties and the organizations which controlled the parties were national party organizations. More than this, since county, city, town and village governments were the statutory creatures of partisan legislatures, the national political party organizations held in a firm grip all governmental functions, national, state and local, throughout the United States.

The story is familiar to you. The pertinence here is in its bearing upon the question of representative government. The great achievement of the English folk, its largest and most valuable contribution to the spread of government by the people, instead of government imposed by outside authority, has been in demonstrating that political union on a large scale can be accomplished through the application and development of the representative principle which preserves and tends to strengthen local independence and personal freedom, and, at the same time, creates a stable central authority, readily

responsible and responsive to the people's will. That is the chief glory, the inner content of the representative doctrine in government; it furnishes an organ for the expression of the people's decisions as to affairs of state, and the means by which they can enforce their decisions. Now, in the United States it has come about, for the reasons already given, that the people have no organ through which to voice their views as to public policy and no means by which they can enforce responsibility for the conduct of public affairs, except political parties; that the political party is controlled by its organization; and that the organization is controlled, not by the general membership of the party, but by an oligarchy—a select few, quite different in character and ascertained by very different methods from what the framers of the National Constitution had in mind—and often by a single person. So complete is this control that in political language the word "organization" is not seldom a well-recognized euphemism for one-man power. This is absolutism.

Such, then, is the ignoble ending of the centuries long struggle for free government. Magna Charta, Parliament, the destruction of royal prerogative, led to American independence and the founding of the United States. In the United States, the deep and intense determination of the people to have a direct participation in choosing their rulers has enlarged the suffrage until almost the entire male population may vote, and has built up and developed powerful political parties. Yet, if we are candid, we must admit that ours is not, in any true sense, a representative government selected by, and representative of, the people governed. The very agencies through which the people have sought to create a government representative of, and so responsible to, them have been captured by the believers in absolutism,—in government by arbitrary power for the personal profit of its possessor.

The experience of the United States has demonstrated with absolute certainty that electing men to public office does not necessarily make them, while in office, representatives of the

**The Failure
to Achieve
Representative
Government
in the
United States**

**In Spite of
Extended
Suffrage and
Popular
Elections.**

governed in the conduct of the government, nor prevent the prolonged holding of political power independently of responsibility to the people. Every one of us is well aware that the legislatures,—national, state and local, — are largely misrepresentative of the people, in spite of elaborate methods of popular election ; that each new State Constitution contains more and more restrictive clauses to check irresponsible and arbitrary abuse of power by the State Legislature ; that private business interests are well and ably represented in Congress, in State Legislature and in City Council, while the interests of the people are poorly and incompetently represented ; and that our present methods have resulted in producing, to a most dangerous extent, government by purchase, instead of government by the people.

Are we to go on blindly following old forms, with occasional spasms of reform, then relapsing again into the antiquated, outgrown methods, as we have been doing now these many years ? Is it not time that we recognized that representative government, if we mean government representative of the people, has largely broken down under those methods ; and can we not perceive the inevitable end if they are continued ? Has the political result in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island and Delaware, and in countless cities, no warning and no lesson for us ? Are we determined to be freemen, with freemen's rights ; or are we content to be subjects, if only we have sufficient money in our pockets ? And with more money in our pockets, are we more content to be subjects ?

If it be an essential element of democratic government that it should be representative of the people, neither Pennsylvania nor Rhode Island has a democratic government. Pennsylvania holds popular elections. So does Rhode Island. But whom do the people elect ? Nominees of their own choice ? We all know to the contrary. The people elect as their rulers the men selected by an outside authority, irresponsible to them. What is this but a government superimposed from without ? The result is as truly absolutism as though there had been no popular election. How long will the people

permit themselves to be deluded by sham political contests, in which the only genuine heat is the misplaced partisan enthusiasm of a duped populace blindly and excitedly following traditional electoral forms, which serve only to cloak the pre-ordained decrees of arbitrary power? Partisan bigotry, guided and controlled by cold-blooded and calculating greed, is working untold disaster.

Whither, then, shall we turn? From which direction shall we find relief, if a widely extended suffrage and popular elections of the rulers do not create a government representative of the people? And in the United States especially—whose loosely organized, decentralized, constitutional scheme of government, diffusing and dissipating responsibility among independent and mutually interfering depositaries of political power, compels the existence and constant activity of great political parties, in order to energize the cumbrous machinery, make the decentralized parts work together according to some uniform plan, and enforce responsibility,—how shall the people voice their views on public matters and select their rulers, save by means of political parties and by popular elections? Shall we attempt to abolish political parties or abandon popular elections? By no means. Yet it is clear that, through these agencies, we are not securing in the conduct of public affairs representatives of the people's deliberately formed judgments. Shall we, then, abandon the representative idea in government? Is the practicability of political concert of action, through the development and application of the representative principle, a demonstrated failure, after all these centuries of effort? Most emphatically, no! Herein lies the significance, the far-reaching importance of the movement for nomination reform, which seeks to supplement our present imperfect and unsatisfactory electoral methods by others which will effectively apply the representative principle as a means of realizing the democratic ideal of government, responsible and responsive to the governed, the governed responsible for the government. In order to realize such a government, there must be some well-understood

**Because the
People Do Not
Control
Nominating
Methods to
Public Office.**

and effective method for the expression and enforcement of the people's will. Nomination reform would supply such a method.

Is it not perfectly plain that, if the men in public elective office are not the choice of the people, they will not, while in office, be truly representative of the people ?

Nomination Reform. Is it not equally plain that, if the people, in

voting for candidates for public office, are confined to choosing between men whom they have not nominated, precisely this result is inevitable ? This is very largely our predicament. The future of representative government is bound up in our finding some means of rescue. Nomination reform seeks to apply practically the great political truth, that, unless the people control the methods of selecting candidates for public office, a government representative of the people's will is impossible.

The principles of democratic government are eternal and immutable. The methods of enforcing them in practice are neither eternal nor immutable. On the contrary, old methods, unadapted to changed conditions, are the best of weapons for

Political Parties are Necessary ; Political "Bosses" are Not. democracy's foes. It is in our reverence for, and foolish adherence to, the old forms that the enemies of government responsible and responsive to the governed have found their opportunity. Because under our National Constitu-

tion the practical conduct of our Government must devolve upon political parties, must the management of a political party be centered in, and controlled by, the arbitrary power of an irresponsible oligarchy, or, still worse, by a single absolute ruler ? Granted that parties are essential to the conduct of the Government, is a "boss" essential to the existence or conduct of a party ? In finding a practically efficient negative answer to these questions lies the solution of the present-day phase of the problem of securing democratic government through the application of the principle of representation to the conduct of public affairs.

To me the answer is clear.

A political party is a purely voluntary association of citi-

zens, acting together to enforce in the conduct of the Government certain political beliefs they hold in common by electing to public office men who hold these political beliefs, and are pledged to put them in practice if elected. There is no other sound reason for the existence or activity of a political party. The organization of a political party is merely the machinery in use at any given time,—and it should be easily and readily changed when it fails to accomplish the purpose—to make the officers and agents of the party and its candidates for public office the free and untrammeled choice of the membership of the party, and, therefore, representative of the real will of the party. There is no other sound reason for the existence or use of a party organization. If these statements be true—and who will successfully confute them?—the distinction between the organization of a political party and the political party itself is wide and deep. The organization exists to carry out the will of the political party, not the party to carry out the will of the organization. A political party varies in numbers from year to year as the political issues change. Otherwise, a party once in power would be always in power. A party man has an intellectual conscience; the strength of his party loyalty is in his reasoned-out convictions, not his emotional preferences. A partisan rarely changes his political creed; he is mostly emotional,—he does not reason, he ejaculates. The present

**Party Men and
Partisans.** nominating methods exclude the party man from participation in selecting the party's candidates for public elective office. Only partisans may take part, and they are politically priest-ridden, the unconscious tools of a mercenary political hierarchy. Nomination reform would admit the party man, as well as the partisan, to a participation in the selection of the party's candidates for public office. This would be dangerous indeed to the arbitrary rule of the boss; for the party's candidate might win, instead of the candidate of the "organization," or, rather, the candidate the party preferred would soon become the candidate of the "organization," and representative government be established in place of boss government.

As good party men, believing in the usefulness and true purpose of political parties, we must keep ever in mind and act upon it, that organization is the means to be used by parties, not the end for which they exist. The elaborate, cumbrous, complicated, clumsy mechanism of political party organization, abounding in indirection and dissipation of energy, creates and nurtures the boss, shelters him from successful attack, fosters his growth and vigor. Its ingeniously contrived intermediate electoral bodies are the counterparts of the similar contrivances in the Federal Constitution, which were intended to make the President and the Senators not the representatives of the people, but of a selected few. The conditions and qualifications, compliance with which is prerequisite to mem-

Party Organizations Must Be Democratized. bership in the organization, are the analogues of the restrictions upon the suffrage at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

Only a very limited electorate, scarcely one in twenty-eight of the population, could vote directly for members of the lower house of Congress, or participate in the choice of members of the intermediate conventions, which in turn, were to choose a President or Senators. So, in the party organization, only a very limited electorate—often less than one in twenty-eight of the members of the party—may vote for the inferior officers of the organization, or participate in the choice of the select few who make up the intermediate conventions which, in turn, choose the high officials of the party and its candidates for public office. From 1789 to the Civil War there was a ceaseless effort to democratize the Government, to sweep away the barriers between the Government and the people. The Presidential Electoral College was reduced to a mere formality, the suffrage was enlarged until it included practically the entire adult male population, and it is safe to say that the selection of United States Senators by indirect methods will soon follow the fate of the Presidential Electoral College. The same course must be followed in party organizations. They, too, must be democratized. Their electorate must be enlarged and popularized; their mechanism simplified; their indirect electoral methods replaced by direct methods; their policy, officers

and candidates for public office become representative of the general membership of the party.

This is a time of infinite division and subdivision of labor. The large measure of success in any calling goes to the expert in the calling. This is as true in politics as Party Managers in business. Indeed, party management is Must Be Made Accountable to the Party. business. The successful party manager must be a specialist. The more complicated the details, the more cumbrous the machinery of party organization, the more certain is it that the man who masters the details and runs the machinery must devote his time and best faculties to the work, must be and will be a specialist in political management—the successful competitor for the position among those who make political management their chosen calling. There is no escape from this, nor would it be desirable. But must he, therefore, be an arbitrary ruler? Under present methods, yes; for these make him accountable neither for his tenure of power, nor for his exercise of power, to any save his own subordinates. The boss is already an efficient man; he gets things done. The nomination reformer would make him surely and readily accountable to the general membership of the party for the things he gets done. This accomplished, and unless the mass of his party, not his "organization," supports him, he will soon seek another field for the display of his abilities. A party manager should be a leader, persuading, if he can, the mass of his party to follow him; not an absolute monarch subjecting them to his decrees.

The boss now has arbitrary power. He abuses his power, as has happened through all history with every possessor of Control of Nominations is Citadel of Political Power. arbitrary power. The citadel of his power is his control of the nomination of candidates for public office, aided by the blind bigotry of partisan zealots. The official owing his office to the boss, and depending upon the grace of the boss for both continued tenure and further advancement, pays court to his real sovereign, not to the deluded people who voted for him. So long as we are perfervid unreasoning partisan devotees we shall be subjects and victims of the boss and elect

his vassals to public office ; while he, in this intensely industrial age when government and business have so many important inter-relations, may, at his sovereign pleasure, acquire for himself and dispense to others vast wealth and power. The greatest and most powerful monarch of England or France had less patronage and far less wealth at the disposal of his whim or favor than the boss of a great State like Pennsylvania. Why should we mince our words ? Partisan bigotry gives the boss his opportunity ; selfish greed to share his favors, and the moral cowardice of the majority of those who know and see the truth, shelter him from successful attack. How shall we rid ourselves of him, how make our government truly representative of matured public opinion, reached after free and full popular discussion ? Not until we realize the profound political truths that the power that controls the selection of candidates for public office is a sovereign power ; that, in a representative democracy, the people must choose the candidates, as well as make the final choice between candidates for public office. Any means whatever that deprives a boss of the power to determine the candidates for public office obliterates his boship ; nomination reform seeks to transfer this power, not to a rival boss but to the people. This transfer can never be brought about, and the real representative government established, unless partisan success is made subordinate to the adoption of methods which insure that the competing candidates for public elective office are the nominees of the rival parties, instead of the nominees of the rival party organizations. This means, on the one hand, that all the members of a party must take part freely in determining who shall be the party nominees ; and, on the other, that party organization must be reduced to its proper position of furnishing simple and effective means of executing the will of the party, instead of dominating its membership ; of expressing, instead of suppressing, the party's will. If the membership of a party select the party's candidates for public office among competing nominees for the candidacy, the boss is not merely dethroned,—he is abolished, and representative government becomes possible.

**Nomination
Reform Vests
this Control
in the People.**

Meantime, until this method is firmly established by settled custom or public law, we must put devotion to the fundamental principle of representative government above partisan bigotry, and be quick to seize every opportunity to defeat candidates for party or public office, who will not labor zealously, and at any personal sacrifice for the realization in party and country alike, of a government of the people and for the people, through agencies selected and representatives chosen by the people. Here, then, is a definite and easily understood program of action. The directions in which to work are:

The simplification of the organization machinery of political parties and the democratization of their methods,—to the end that party managers shall be party leaders, representative of the party membership, not a hierarchy of feudal lords and overlords;

The control in the public interest by the people of the nominations of candidates to public elective office,—to the end that the popular choice between candidates shall be between men who, while in office, shall represent the public interests, not private interests.

Nomination reformers know that in each direction progress will be contested at every step by the enormous resources at the command of concentrated selfish personal interests already entrenched in arbitrary power, and by partisan bigotry blindly adhering to old forms; that legislators are the chattels of the boss, that they bear his brand of ownership, that they owe their official existence, and often their principal means of livelihood to subservience to his will. But progress is certain, nevertheless, and victory is sure. Civil Service Reform has made its way; personal registration laws, laws for the honest canvass of votes and an official State printed ballot has been won, in spite of boss-owned legislators. And the time will come when each aspirant for a party nomination to public elective office competes with every other aspirant for the nomination in a fair and open nominating election, and the competitor with the largest popular following wins the prize.

Nomination reform will be brought about, in the first in-

stance, by increasing the number of those who value the principle of representation in government above parties as such, and so shake the political foundation of the boss' control; in the second place, by taking every available opportunity to attack and weaken the "organization's" monopoly, which is but another name for the boss' monopoly of nominating candidates to public office. The choice of candidates for public office is a prerogative of sovereignty. If the people are sovereign, let them assert and exercise their sovereignty. Never forget that the boss—and the reign of a political oligarchy is but a preliminary to the genesis of a political boss—is a usurper of the fundamental rights of the people, and, as one of the plain people, resent the usurpation. The American citizen should be quick to rebel against even the most benevolent of despots. Remember, it is always presumably good public policy to defeat the candidate of a boss. If he cannot deceive the people into electing his nominees, his power is gone.

By persistent efforts along the lines indicated; by recognizing in one's conduct, as well as in one's abstract theorizing, that boss government cannot be good government, that its existence is dangerous, and its continuance will be fatal to representative government, that any electoral method which experience shows will strengthen the power of the boss is a bad method; by preferring above partisan success, and, so far as in us lies, by compassing the defeat of any candidate for office who will be subservient to him; by being watchful for and seizing every opportunity to put in office men who believe in the necessity of representative government, if democracy is to endure, we can make the absoluteness of the boss' authority an uncertain quantity, and in time eliminate him altogether. Weaken the power of the boss to dispense offices, elective and appointive,—that is the objective point.

Here is a simple, easily understood program of action, based upon sound political philosophy and in accord with the political traditions of our race. Can there be a doubt of the outcome by any intelligent American who has studied English and American political history and knows the temper and spirit

of his countrymen? The effort to attain a government really representative of and readily accountable to the governed constitutes and explains the political history of the English-speaking folk. The struggle for and against nomination reform is but a present-day form of the historic contest between the forces that make for personal freedom, local independence and ever-expanding political union through the wise development and intelligent application of the representative principle in government, and the forces that make for political despotism,—for political expansion through some authority arbitrarily superimposed from without.

The nomination reformers believe that our Government, national, state and local, should be representative of the people's will; opposed to them are those who, through the continuance of the old forms or delusive changes in them, would impose upon us rulers who conduct the affairs of state for their personal profit.

The Year's Work

By CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF
Secretary National Municipal League, Philadelphia

The undiminished interest of the people and the ever-broadening conception of the problem constitute the most significant features of the present movement for municipal improvement in America. For upwards of ten years the growth in the number of individuals and organizations and in the literature has been steady and substantial; and each year has shown an

Continued Advances. advance on the previous one in nearly every direction. While there have been numerous local reactions, and these of course were and

are to be expected, nevertheless, the sum total for the whole country has shown an increase from year to year,—not always so large an increase as the more zealous and impetuous have hoped for, but such a one as can be easily retained. Reactions are usually greatest after the greatest advances, and, therefore, that is the most solid and prosperous progress which proceeds with regular gradations. Such, fortunately, has been the history of the movement for which the National Municipal League has stood throughout its career.

Naturally, during the past year public interest has centered in the Greater New York situation, just as it did during the

Greater New York. preceding one, but for somewhat different reasons. Then it was to see if the fusion move-

ment would win as against the entrenched forces of iniquity and corruption as represented by Tammany. Since, it has been to see to what extent a fusion movement could succeed in carrying out its platform and other ante-election promises. At the time of the preparation of our last annual review there was a general feeling of dissatisfaction and criticism concerning the Low administration. As was then pointed out, however, this was unjustified, and was due to an unreason-

able demand for a speedy but wholly impossible fulfilment of promises. It was further observed, however, that it was probably for the best that this wave of criticism should reach its crest early, so that by the time of the next municipal election it would have spent itself and receded, and the real achievements of the reform administration be apparent.

The events of the past twelve months have more than justified this observation. Last November, the Citizens' Union, which had been responsible, first, for the fusion movement, **Mayor Low's Administration.** and later for its conduct, published a careful résumé of the ten months of the Low administration. While confessing that the "effort to solve the awful problem of the police department had thus far disappointed popular expectation," it proceeded to point out the really notable achievements, which, "despite the shortness of the time, the disadvantage of an operating plant disgracefully deteriorated, and the want of an adequate measure of home rule," had been accomplished.

In ten months the Law Department had collected twice as much in arrears from tax dodgers as during the entire four years of the preceding administration. The amount collected equaled the salary list of the entire department for the year.

Remarkable Accomplish- ments. Penalties for various violations were doubled over the preceding year, and the adverse judgments against the city were reduced \$314,000.

The work of the Board of Education has been notable, especially in the direction of making the schools of larger every-day service, not alone to the children, but to the entire population. While more than 40,000 children were unprovided for under the Tammany administration, practically none (414) over six were left unprovided for in October, 1902. Competitive examinations have been made the sole basis of appointment and promotion for all teachers.

The conduct of the Health Department has been admirable, and the death rate has been reduced to the lowest point in the city's history; the various inspections required by law have been more rigorously conducted, and the fines collected and the unwholesome food condemned, increased; and the children

in the public schools have been thoroughly inspected for contagious diseases. The street-cleaning department has, likewise, been most efficiently conducted, as also the departments of water, gas and electricity, parks, docks and bridges. The facts and figures concerning these are equally remarkable and convincing.

The Department of Charities forms another notable instance of honest, faithful and successful administration. An account of the abuses corrected, delinquencies punished and reforms instituted in this important branch of the city's activities reads like a romance. And, when we recall that it has to do with the least protected and most helpless classes of the population, we may gather something of the truly great service of the Low administration to humanity and the cause of real progress.

Certainly the Citizens' Union was fully justified, after reviewing at length and in great detail these and various other important accomplishments, in declaring that it all "promises a new and impressive era of municipal government in New York." Moreover, there has been no set-back during the time which has elapsed since the publication of that report. On the contrary, there has been such substantial progress in all directions, and especially in those that were most open to criticism and, notably, in the police department, that one is justified in agreeing with the statement that the "Low administration is the best administration the city has ever had. It has been absolutely clean, and none of its shortcomings have been due to corruption or dishonesty," or, as another observer puts it, "This is the most enlightened and unselfish municipal government the United States has ever seen."

When we take into consideration the instability of fusion movements and the compromises that they make necessary, it is not surprising that the Low administration has made mistakes and has not in every particular met reasonable expectation. The real surprise is that there have not been more. While Greater New York has undoubtedly the largest independent vote in the

United States, not only absolutely but relatively (amounting, as we know, by actual count to 157,000 in 1897), nevertheless these independents cannot of their own strength defeat Tammany. They need the support not only of Republicans, but of Democrats who are not altogether independents, and yet who cannot conscientiously affiliate with Tammany. Such a combination makes a composite force, which proceeds along a line different from that of any one of its components, and so we have more need for adjustment than in a compact organization like that of Tammany in New York or the Republican machine in Philadelphia.

Consequently, the outcome of the present experiment in New York is watched with unusual interest. The success of the Low administration is due to the honesty and integrity of purpose and conduct of its chief, and of his principal appointees; whether it will prove successful in securing a popular endorsement by a re-election next November remains to be seen. A few months ago this question would have had to be answered, No; but the achievements of the administration are becoming better known, and the remarkable, indeed one may say brilliant, accomplishments of General Greene as Police Commissioner are serving to create a more favorable public sentiment, so that the leaders are beginning to see a good fighting chance for another fusion victory this autumn, under the leadership of Mr. Low. As some one recently said: "If we can keep up the present rate of progress for three or four months more, we will expect to win out."

If the real merits of the accomplishments of Mayor Low and his colleagues can be brought home to the mass of the people as were the iniquities of his predecessor, then certainly the chances for another reform victory are good indeed, because all that has thus far been accomplished is unquestionably calculated to make life cleaner, healthier and better worth living. The needs and issues of the city have been made of paramount importance in the consideration of every municipal official.

Baltimore under her new charter and under her present

Mayor has likewise been going steadily forward. The condition of affairs there is undoubtedly good, both **Baltimore.** relatively and absolutely, and "every believer in municipal betterment can find some justification for the faith that is in him in the city's experience during the past four years," or, as another student has said :

" Mayor Hayes' administration, viewed as a whole, and considering, as we must in fairness consider, all the attendant circumstances, can be fairly said to constitute a great advance on any of its predecessors, and as nearly a fulfilment of ante-election promises as wise and experienced observers expected it would be. The schools, the charities, the finances, the fire department, the public works, the health department and the water department have all been decidedly better administered than ever before, and the three first mentioned branches remarkably well administered."

On the other hand, the Baltimore Reform League (which can claim a large share of the credit for this improved condition **Reform League's** of affairs) has pointed out that both the tax rate **Estimate.** and the city debt have been reduced through improved conditions of government. While neither a low tax rate nor a small debt is to be considered an absolute test of good government, nevertheless, when either or both are due to improved conditions the situation may certainly be regarded as favorable. The same body is authority for the statement that the new charter of the city "has taken the public schools out of politics, given an enlightened and orderly administration of public charities, and introduced the merit system into the fire department."

The attempt of the Mayor to build up a machine has failed ; so we have a most satisfactory situation,—the good points of the administration approved, and the bad tendencies rebuked. As the independent candidates won at the Democratic and Republican primaries held on April 7, one is justified in concluding that the Baltimore voter has attained to a commendable degree of independent thought and action, at least in municipal affairs.

In Chicago the work of improving the city council still goes on. The last election, held April 7, marked even a more bril-

liant triumph for the Municipal Voters' League than ever before. Of the seventy members of the city council, at least fifty-six are pledged to the League platform and to its policy of a non-partisan organization of the city's council.

At the recent election, not more than four or five candidates vigorously opposed by the League were elected, and in many wards old-time "gangsters," or "gray wolves," as they are called, went down to defeat. The League scored victories in wards in which it has never been able to do much heretofore, and in the better class of wards there was no contest at all,—the man supported by the League being assured of re-election in almost every case, without serious opposition. Perhaps a most striking manifestation of the power of the League was in the Thirty-third ward, in which are situated the Pullman car-shops and several factories. The Democrats had nominated an undesirable candidate. The Republican candidate was supposed, until four or five days

**Triumph of
Voters' League.** before the election, to be satisfactory, but it was discovered that his record in private life rendered him even more objectionable than his Democratic opponent. In the face of this situation, the League advised the voters of that ward to support the nominee of the Socialist party as a protest against the other two candidates, and, to the surprise of the entire city, the Socialist was elected. This striking manifestation of the power of the League will have a very wholesome influence hereafter upon party nominees.

The re-election of Mayor Harrison for a fourth term is significant. It represents two things: First, the predominance of a distinctly local issue—the settlement of the traction issue; second, the stubborn independence of the voters, especially those of Republican affiliation. For the past two or three campaigns the Republican organization has refused to nominate men who stood for local issues. While its candidates have been men of clean personal character, they have stood for no local issue and had no record on local questions. They represented the organization and nothing else. They were put forward in preference to men like John Maynard Harlan, who, while

Republicans on national issues, were known to represent certain definite municipal policies in accord with the highest interests of the city. The persistent defeat of the Republican plans, therefore, has a wholesome significance, and clearly indicates the extent of the independent spirit which prevails in the city, and the strength of the sentiment in favor of making municipal issues of paramount importance in municipal elections.

The recent election in Cleveland teaches precisely the same lessons. The candidacy of Mayor Johnson represented three distinct local issues: Three-cent fares, opposition to state interference in local matters, and the utilization of the state's powers for partisan advantage. While it was unquestionably true, as the Cleveland Municipal Association pointed out in its ante-election bulletin, that "for perhaps the first time in the history of the city a Mayor has deliberately violated the law by using funds illegally, for example, the 'school tax' expenditures,"—and was open to serious criticism along other lines,—it was also unquestionably true that his sincere and, on the whole, successful advocacy of three-cent fares and of the principle that public service companies should be subjected to the same principle **Mayor Johnson.** of assessment as individual taxpayers and other corporations gave him a hold upon the electorate that overshadowed all other issues and enabled him to defeat a candidate of high personal character, but who represented primarily national issues and a national party organization, and no record on local questions.

Moreover, Johnson's election represents a defeat of the effort pursued during two years "to get rid of Johnson," and in which partisan manipulation went to the extreme of subjecting the machinery of the State of Ohio to partisan ends. To effect this, the carefully devised "federal" scheme of government was abolished and a code forced not only upon Cleveland, but upon every other city in the state, designed to tie the hands of a Democratic mayor, and especially those of Mr. Johnson, if he should happen to be re-elected. The "Plain Dealer" described the situation in this way:

Use of State Powers to Defeat Johnson. "Every department of the public works was taken away from him and placed in the absolute control of a board with which he was to have nothing to do. While the power of appointing a bi-partisan board of public safety was given him, it was cunningly contrived that the power was in appearance only, as the assent of two-thirds of all the members of the council was made necessary, and, failing to receive that vote in confirmation, the appointment would become null and the governor of the state would appoint a board without action of the council. Having thus guarded against danger to their interests in case Johnson should happen to be re-elected, the schemers laid their plans to make that re-election an impossibility. The 'man to beat Johnson' was found. Some reputable candidates were placed on the ticket in places where possible independence of action would not interfere with the plans of the schemers. A council was selected that would obey the orders of its creator. A vigorous campaign was planned and the 'sinews of war' provided in abundance.

What has been the result of this two years' campaign, with its overturning of an entire state to get rid of one mayor? Mr. Johnson was elected two years ago by the phenomenal plurality of 6,053. He has been re-elected by a plurality within 300 of those figures. With a single unimportant exception, every Republican candidate on the municipal general ticket has been snowed under by pluralities ranging from over 4,000 to over 10,000. In every position within the control of the Mayor under the federal plan of government there will be in the new government men in complete harmony with Mayor Johnson's policy. Instead of an antagonistic council there will be more than a two-thirds vote to confirm his appointees to the board of public safety and to carry into effect his views, so far as the action of council is necessary.

The election, instead of 'getting rid of Johnson,' has seated him more firmly in place. The new code, instead of tying his hands, has given him even greater powers than he possessed under the former system, as long as those in sympathy with his plans fill the positions to which they have been elected."

Divorce Municipal Affairs. Chicago and Cleveland, therefore, furnish wholesome lessons, the significance of which must not be overlooked. There must be an end to tampering with the city by the legislature, and national parties must cease from placing national issues to the front in local campaigns. To reiterate the oft-repeated gospel of the Na-

tional Municipal League, municipal affairs must be absolutely divorced from the consideration of state and national politics. Let the national parties make local nominations if they please, but with the distinct understanding that they stand for local issues solely and that they have no state or national significance. The frequent re-election of Samuel M. Jones, as Mayor of Toledo, Ohio, teaches the same lesson. Three times he has been re-elected as a "non partisan," and solely because of his municipal record. This is certainly as it should be. If we are to have an efficient and public-spirited administration of municipal offices, we must select men who are known to be honest, capable and devoted to the interests of the city. Partisan affiliations must be relegated to the rear and eliminated.

It is not a question of what particular local policy Mayor Jones represents. The important thing in his re-election is that he was chosen Mayor again because he had a municipal policy and not because he was a Republican, a Democrat, an anti-imperialist, a Prohibitionist, or, for that matter, even because he was a non-partisan.

The situation in the two great cities of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, present different phases from those which we have been considering, but even in them, notwithstanding the doleful tales of mismanagement and corruption which we have been accustomed to hear about them, there are numerous signs of improvement.

Philadelphia now has a mayor who received the endorsement of the Municipal League and the leading business men and independents of the city. It cannot be said that his election represents a victory for independence similar to those just recounted in Chicago and Cleveland; but it does represent a recognition of the growing strength of the demand for an improvement over previous conditions. In commenting on the subject, the Municipal League's Board of Managers said:

"Considering Mr. Weaver's high personal character, which had never been assailed, the ability and vigor of the performance of his duties as District Attorney, considering also that the Board of Managers had deemed it proper to write an

official letter to Mr. Weaver commanding him for the conduct of his office, and recollecting that one of the guiding principles of the Municipal League is the endorsement of men for reëlection, or for promotion to a more important office, on their record, it seems eminently proper for the League to give its endorsement to Mr. Weaver. As a candidate of the majority party was certain to be elected, it was apparent that the one chance by which the League could hope to advance the cause of good government in Philadelphia lay in the direction of supporting a good man when nominated by the Republicans. In short, the best possible policy to pursue under all the circumstances was to give Mr. Weaver the moral support of those who for years had been battling for better conditions in Philadelphia, and to aid him in his desire and determination to give the city relief from the evil tendencies of the last administration."

The wisdom of this policy has been demonstrated. While the bill making the lease of the Philadelphia waters-works for a period of fifty years without competition was under **Mayor Weaver.** consideration, he declared himself to be unequivocally against the city's parting with the water-works to any private party or corporation, a position he reiterated in regard to all the city's franchises, in his inaugural address. This prompt declaration of his views aided materially in defeating the measure and greatly strengthened the hands of bodies like the Municipal League, which has been struggling for years to prevent the alienation of these franchises now operated by the city, and the grant of new franchises, except for limited periods and upon terms which represent a recognition of the principle that the city should participate in the profits.

Just before entering upon the discharge of his duties as Mayor, he secured, as District Attorney, a conviction of the utmost importance to the welfare of the city. Three school directors and a "go-between" had been charged with extorting money from applicants for appointments as teachers—a charge so abominable as to seem impossible. No stone was left unturned to secure the acquittal of these men, and Mr. Weaver did not hesitate to charge that attempts had been made to "fix the jury"; but so skilfully and successfully did he manage

his case that he secured a prompt conviction of the defendants Philadelphia's School Scandals. and the arrest of several men alleged to be implicated in the attempted jury-fixing, and has kept the defendants in jail pending the usual moves to secure a new trial. As there have been practically no convictions for political crimes during the past five or six years in Philadelphia, and as "jury fixing" has been regarded as prevalent and comparatively easy of accomplishment, the significance of these convictions and arrests becomes at once obvious.

Pittsburg voters have defeated the dominant Republican machine in three successive campaigns. The importance of the February, 1902, campaign was described at length a year ago. The victory of last November was not quite so significant, because it was so largely due to the support of practical politicians who sought benefit by the independent drift, and that of last February was clearly a victory of the "outs" over the "ins." It was a contest between rival machinies, and the old one was defeated. There are two encouraging features, however. In the first place, the present situation is one of unstable equilibrium.

The new machine is not homogeneous, nor at all Pittsburg. well founded. Whether it will be able to work out an organization as compact and effective as its predecessor, remains to be seen. Its excesses constitute the second hopeful feature. Its Recorder (or Mayor) started his administration by removing 3,000 employees—a new record for removals even in the much "ripped" city of Pittsburg. It is doubtful whether such a policy will receive endorsement; and if the Municipal League element will assume command, as it did a year ago, the chances favor a change; as the people of Pittsburg clearly want one, and, if they continue, will surely secure one, that will represent substantial progress and real improvement.

To the remarkable developments of the past year in Minneapolis and St. Louis only a passing reference in this review is necessary, as they will be treated at length at another session of the conference. It is important and instructive to note, however, the part played by the grand jury in both instances.

To the untiring and unremitting efforts of Foreman Harvey C. Clarke, of the Minneapolis grand jury, the disclosures leading to the flight of Mayor Ames, the conviction of derelict officials and the overhauling of the administrative departments of the city are due. David Percy Jones, who served

Minneapolis. as acting mayor after the flight of Mayor Ames,

is a member of the League. His deep and intelligent interest in municipal matters, his independence and his ability to hit hard enabled him to make the most of the situation, in the interests of good government. He declined to stand for election for a full term, because he felt that the then existing conditions required the untrammeled effort of an executive who was not seeking re-election. The voters of Minneapolis showed their appreciation of his efforts and the gravity of the situation by electing a worthy successor.

In St. Louis, the administration of Mayor Wells continues to receive general praise. In most directions "its business has been conducted more successfully and more from a standpoint of public good than at any time in the past." The physical improvement of the city, the encouragement

St. Louis. of parks and a broad interest in educational matters, and in city institutions, are undoubtedly making for civic spirit; but thus far there has not been manifested so strong a disposition to repudiate those responsible for the scandals which Circuit Attorney Folk has revealed and prosecuted as might reasonably have been expected. That those who have been convicted of such gross breaches of trust should be permitted to exercise any further power or responsibility seems incredible, and yet such is the fact.

In other cities investigations and prosecutions have been the order of the day. Those in Philadelphia touching the school board scandals have already been referred to; and the activity of District Attorney Jerome, in New York, in bringing

guilty policemen and gamblers to book, is well known. In Wilmington, Delaware, an investigation of the tax office, begun by the Citizens' Association, has resulted in disclosures of the most startling character, involving changes in the city assessments amounting

to hundreds of thousands of dollars. In Seattle, Washington, as a result of a recent grand jury investigation, the mayor, chief of police, a former district attorney, a police justice and certain local capitalists have been indicted for various alleged crimes connected with the granting of franchises and the protection of vice and immorality. Important investigations leading to an unearthing of municipal shortcomings and a clearer understanding of the situations have also been had in New Rochelle and Harrisburg.

Victories in behalf of decency and independence, both at the polls and in the conduct of municipal business, have been

Victories. numerous throughout the year. Those in Detroit will be detailed at length by the representatives of the Municipal League, which has

been so largely responsible for them. The election in Auburn, N. Y., resulted in the choice for Mayor of a public-spirited business man, one of our own members, Thomas M. Osborne. In Spokane, Washington, both the Republican and Democratic candidates for Mayor, at the last election, not proving satisfactory, the Prohibition candidate came within a few votes of being elected. This has so encouraged the independents that a municipal party has been formed, and bids fair to elect its candidate on a strictly municipal platform. In Boston the Public School Association elected one-half its ticket this year, and thus has continued its control of the Board of Education in behalf of the higher interests of the schools and the city.

In all of the various victories that have been chronicled, the reform bodies identified with the National Municipal League have had a large and influential part, thereby justifying their activities and their deep interest in the municipal problem and its solution. On many previous occasions the persistency and efficiency of the efforts of these bodies has been referred to, and all that has been said may, with entire propriety, be reiterated on this occasion.

No more instructive contribution to the literature of the movement could be made than a report based on a summary of the numerous and varied activities of bodies like the Boston Public School Association, the New York Citizens' Union, the

Philadelphia Municipal League, the Baltimore Reform League, the Cleveland Municipal Association, the Pittsburgh Civic Voters' League, the Detroit Municipal League, the Chicago Municipal Voters' League, the San Francisco Merchants' Association, all

Work of Affiliated Members. affiliated members of the National Municipal League and actively identified with its progress.

The limits of this review forbid such a summary, but the propriety of issuing a separate bulletin or report devoted to these special lines of work might be favorably considered by the executive committee. It would afford an inspiring exhibition of civic endeavor and serve to stimulate similar bodies in other communities.

The municipal ownership movement, as it has come to be known, has taken a deep hold upon the urban population of this country. We have already seen how interest in franchise questions has overshadowed all others in Chicago and Cleveland. So it has been elsewhere, and the various reform organi-

Municipal Ownership. zations have had to devote a large share of their time and energies to a consideration of franchise questions. This is indeed a healthy and an auspicious sign.

The New York Reform Club made a notable contribution to the discussion of this subject through its "National Convention on Municipal Ownership and Public Franchises," held February 25, 26 and 27. It attracted delegates from all parts of the United States and from Canada and England. Its well-arranged program served to bring out the arguments for both sides of mooted points and to define the issues clearly. The printed volume of the proceedings will prove a most important addition to the literature of the subject. Another volume which deserves notice in this connection is the first issue of a "Municipal Year Book,*" edited by M. N. Baker, giving greatly needed information concerning cities of 3,000 and upward, and especially their public services.

The Bureau of Street Railways in Pennsylvania recently published a report of great significance. It opens with a statement that "the wildest schemes of capitalization have charac-

* Published by the Engineering News.

terized the proceedings of many street railway corporations in their organization, in their management, in their consolidations and mergers and in their reorganizations, until **Street Railways in Pennsylvania.** we have a condition which shows that the capitalization of street railways in Pennsylvania is more than double the reported average cost of road and equipment of the steam railways of the United States."

This is indeed a startling statement, and the report proceeds to show by comparison that it is within the mark, and that the outstanding bonded indebtedness more than equals the cost of these roads and their equipment; "from which it follows that in many cases at least there was little, if any, cash actually invested in the stock." Such a policy clearly results in the destruction of confidence of the investors in the bonds and stocks now outstanding or hereafter to be issued. The report shows that the aggregate capital of the ninety-seven corporations on June 30, 1902, was \$60,698,238, as against \$108,-676,774 last year; but this shrinkage or discrepancy is alleged to be due to the fact that several large concerns had been absorbed or had been made subsidiary. Very likely the difference in the figures represents the retirement of stock of the companies absorbed by the issuance of bonds in payment thereof, which has been a favorite method of reorganization in Pennsylvania, as well as elsewhere, and which is largely responsible for the condition which Superintendent Brown describes. In commenting on these returns the report says: "The business of operating street railways does not seem to result in great dividends to stockholders, and yet, if the exact amount of cash that has gone into the construction of street railways could be known, it might appear that even the small amount of dividends paid would be a fair-sized rate of dividends on the actual cash capital so invested." The Municipal League of Philadelphia has shown in its publications that the returns on the capital originally invested in the Philadelphia systems is in most instances little short of enormous.

All of which tends to justify the remark of Wheeler H. Peckham, president of the City Club, at the Municipal Ownership Conference, that when the stock of a franchise corporation is above

par, "then that corporation has been allowed to go on and
Value of steal from the people, because charges are too
Franchises high." The consensus of opinion certainly seems
 to be that, if there is to be private operation
of municipal franchises, the rates charged should be such as
to permit only of a fair return on the capital involved; or else
there should be such a return to the city as represents the value
of the franchises over and above such fair return to capital.

The sentiment in favor of municipal ownership is well-nigh unanimous. Whether there should be short or long leases to private corporations for private operations is still being debated, but the trend is undoubtedly in favor of short leases and frequent revision of the terms. This certainly has been the recent tendency, and the settlement in Chicago is likely to be along these lines.

The period of the reckless granting of franchises is about past. The people are awakening to their value and to the necessity for a proper control of them in the interest of the whole community. The instances of the activity of officials in the same direction are multiplying in a most encouraging manner.

The effect of Mayor Weaver's prompt declaration in favor of the continued municipal ownership of the Philadelphia water-works and the city's other franchises has already been referred to and is not only in striking contrast to the conduct of his predecessor, but also illustrates how powerful for the preservation of the city's interests the modern mayor is, when he chooses to exert his power in that behalf.

Nomination reform has occupied a prominent place in gubernatorial messages and in the consideration of legislators during the past winter, and it is interesting and instructive to study the points of agreement in the numerous propositions that have been offered in Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, New Jersey, Indiana and elsewhere. In the first place, there is a general
Nomination consensus of opinion that the primaries of all
Reform. parties should be held on the same day (and
 that preferably a registration day where per-
sonal registration is required) and under the same officials who

shall be paid out of the state or local treasury. The reason for the first of these suggestions is obvious. It prevents the same man from voting at more than one primary. Under existing conditions, where primaries are held on separate days it frequently happens that venal voters cast a vote at both primaries, thus securing a double influence.

The demand for official surveillance is due to the conviction that as the state already recognizes parties in the matter of nominations, it should go one step further and see to it that the nominations are honestly and fairly made. To what extent the state should supervise the selection of party committees and other parts of the "organization" is an open question, still much debated; but the tendency is in the direction of throwing the protection of the state around the preliminary nominations as it now does around the general election. But there is likewise a strong feeling that the state should have nothing to do with questions of party organization, and that these must be decided within party lines. The public at large is concerned with the regularity of nominations because these go on the official ballot; but not with party organizations, which are purely voluntary affairs.

In the second place, there is a growing sentiment in favor of having primary tickets made up on the principle of the Australian ballot, so that all candidates shall be on Points of an equal basis. This means a grouping of candidates Agreement. for each office to be filled, and then alphabetically arranging them under their respective groups. No fairer method can be devised, and it is one easily understood, as has been shown for years where the Crawford County System prevails. In the third place, the demand is for the abolition of the delegate system, and the substitution of the direct primary system, under which voters express their choice of candidates directly. Under such a system, the primary is to all intents and purposes a preliminary election for the selection of those who are to run at the second and final one. The advantages of this method are obvious: it provides for a direct expression of opinion and it prevents the manipulation of delegates.

There has been a great diversity of detail and much experi-

menting. In Minneapolis, where a direct primary law has been in force for several years and which has been of late extended to the rest of the state, there is general satisfaction, notwithstanding some of the results attending its inauguration. It is only fair to say that these evils would have occurred under any primary system and were due to entirely different causes. In Baltimore the new direct primary law worked satisfactorily at its first trial and succeeded in convincing those

Results.

who were at the outset either doubtful or opposed to its provision. The results in Wisconsin and Detroit will be detailed to us in separate papers by those who have been in personal touch with the work. In this branch of activity, as, in fact, in all others, our affiliated members have been in the forefront. In Michigan, it is the Detroit Municipal League that has led the fight; in Indiana, the Commercial Club of Indianapolis; in Pittsburg, the Chamber of Commerce, and so on through the list.

The movement for charter revision has, like that for nomination reform, shown no diminution. In every part of the country it is manifesting itself, and the publications of the National Municipal League, and especially the "Municipal Program,"

Charter Revision. have been widely used. The demand for a larger measure of home rule continues unabated. The intolerable interference by state legislatures, such as we constantly see in Pennsylvania and New York, is in a way working its own cure. It is creating an adverse public sentiment that will eventually clothe our cities with sufficient powers to transact their business free from outside dictation or domination. Denver has just secured a great home-rule victory and is busy preparing to reap the benefits.

Ohio missed a great opportunity to make a notable contribution to charter reform and the cause of home rule. By a single decision the Supreme Court of the state wiped out the whole net-work of special legislation and gave to the legislature

Ohio's Lost Opportunity. an unusual opportunity, but it failed to seize it and permitted politics instead of sound public policy to control. As has already been noted, the whole progress of the State toward rational municipal

government was halted and turned back to enable the politicians to gain control of a single city. Now that they have signally failed in this, possibly they will give the cities what they have all along needed and in many cases demanded,—a fuller and freer opportunity to govern themselves.

In Chicago the whole question has become a burning one, and a Charter Convention has been formed for the express purpose of advancing the project. St. Louis is now utilizing the new powers recently conferred upon her. Minneapolis and Wilmington, Delaware, are making further efforts to secure new instruments. Los Angeles has secured one which contains many valuable features, not the least important being the establishment of a civil service system to apply to every department of the city.

There have been no striking events during the past year in the direction of the establishment of municipal civil service systems, other than that in Los Angeles. There

Civil Service Activity. has been considerable improvement in the New

York situation over a year ago, but conditions there are not nearly so satisfactory as we might wish, and the New York Civil Service Reform Association has felt the necessity for some sharp criticism. In Illinois, as a result of the successful operation of the Chicago law, there is a movement to extend its provisions to all the other municipalities and to the State at large. The Detroit Municipal League is making a valiant fight for a much-needed civil service law, and our affiliated members generally are deeply concerned along these lines.

Uniform municipal accounting is becoming more and more an issue. Ohio passed a public accounting bill last year,

Municipal Accounting. which has since been put into force and effect under the supervision of our own member,

Mr. Harvey S. Chase. Similar measures have been introduced, and possibly, by this time, passed, in the legislatures of Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, Wisconsin and Michigan. Boston, Baltimore and Chicago have municipal statistical bureaus. As a whole session of the present conference will be devoted to the subject, nothing further need be

said in this connection, except to chronicle the sad and untimely death of Mr. Charles Waldo Haskins, who remodeled the Chicago accounts and was an honored and useful member of the League's Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting.

On the material side, there has been no lack of encouraging growth and development. Civic improvement has become a rallying cry in every city in the land. Societies like the City Parks Association of Philadelphia, the Municipal Art Societies of New York, Baltimore and Chicago, the Society for Beautifying Buffalo, and the Civic Improvement Society of St. Louis, are multiplying in number and activities. These accomplishments already make a formidable list, and the movement is by no means confined to the larger cities. Towns of 1,000, 2,000 and 3,000, as well as of tens of thousands, are taking up the question and working away at its solution. It will also be given attention at the St. Louis Exposition next year, in a section to be known as "Municipal Improvement."

The demand for adequate instruction on municipal questions is another indication of the spirit of the times. The work of the League's Committee on Instruction in Municipal Government in American Educational Institutions has met with a cordial response on the part of college authorities, and the need for similar work in connection with secondary and elementary schools has been clearly demonstrated. It is, therefore, a matter for profound congratulation that Superintendent W. H. Maxwell, of New York, has consented to serve as chairman on the League's committee to take this phase of the question under consideration.

The rapid multiplication of agencies for municipal improvement has created a sentiment in favor of coöperation to increase efficiency and eliminate possible duplication of efforts. So we find numerous city and state federations, and there is really no reason why there should not be a federation of all the national civic bodies, hence the consideration of this subject at the present session of the National Municipal League and its discussion by representa-

tives of the several bodies most deeply interested. The American Park and Outdoor Art Association at its last annual meeting appointed a committee to deal with the whole subject, and out of this and the activities of kindred bodies working along similar lines we may expect something substantial.

The municipal problem itself is constantly growing and, in a way, so are its difficulties ; but the encouraging feature is that the **Emphasizing Progress.** general interest in it is also growing, as are the agencies designed for its solution. There are frequent setbacks and many discouragements, selfish partisan and factional and personal interests interfere, but take it by and large the outlook is promising. The various experiences recited in this review of the year's work show the trend. One may accelerate the tendency toward improvement by co-operation and sympathy ; or one may spend his time with carping at the mistakes and emphasizing shortcomings. The former makes for progress ; the latter for stagnation, if not reaction. The hopeful feature of the whole movement for municipal improvement lies in the fact that the great majority of those identified with it pursue the former course and stand ready and willing to aid every tendency toward righteousness and progress.

The St. Louis Disclosures

By JAMES L. BLAIR, of the St. Louis Bar

Within the last two years there have been disclosed by the Grand Juries of St. Louis, sundry schemes, or, as they are commonly called, "deals," the objects of which were to corruptly obtain municipal franchises and privileges by means of bribery. Of these the four principal ones were of such importance as to require special notice. Their general nature may be briefly stated as follows:

First. The "Central Traction Deal," a scheme by which a franchise for a street railway company was bought from the Municipal Assembly for the price of \$250,000 in cash, distributed amongst the members.

The Various Deals. The prices paid to members ranged from \$3,000 to \$50,000 each.

It is said that this franchise was sold by the man who bribed it through for \$1,250,000.

Second. The so-called "Lighting Deal," which was a scheme by which the Assembly was induced to grant lighting privileges to a corporation for a bribe of \$85,000. This franchise is said to have been re-sold by the man who obtained it for \$150,000.

Third. The "Suburban Deal." This was a scheme by which a franchise was sought to be purchased by the Suburban Street Railway for \$135,000 in bribes. This franchise, whilst it contained terms much more liberal to the city than some of its predecessors, was yet worth a far larger sum than was agreed to be paid for it.

Fourth. The "Garbage Contract Deal," which was a scheme involving a contract for the reduction of the garbage of the city; it was sought to be obtained by an attempted bribe of two of the members of the Board of Health. This contract involved a sum of something over \$200,000, and the bribe offered in each case was \$2,500.

In connection with these disclosures thirty-nine persons in all have been indicted,—twenty-four for bribery or attempted **Indictments** bribery, and fifteen for perjury. Eighteen of **Found.** these individuals have been indicted for both bribery and perjury, all of them being members of the Municipal Assembly, who, at the beginning of the investigation, swore falsely before the Grand Jury that they knew nothing of the "Suburban Deal," and who were subsequently indicted for complicity therein when the entire transaction was uncovered by the confessions of their confederates. Edward Butler, of whom more will be said hereafter, has been indicted four times,—twice for attempted bribery in connection with the Garbage Contract, and twice in connection with the "Lighting Deal." Up to this time fifteen cases in all have been tried, resulting in fourteen convictions; in the remaining case the State was unable to make complete proof and the court did not allow the issue to go to the jury. The penalties inflicted ran from two to five years in the penitentiary. In all the cases where convictions have been had, appeals have been taken to the Supreme Court, where they are now pending, with the exception of one, which has been reversed and remanded for a new trial.

Two of the persons indicted,—Charles Kratz, a former member of the City Council, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Suburban Railway,—are fugitives from justice, the one in Mexico, and the other in Europe.

Such, in brief, is a summary of the principal of these disclosures, and they are of such a character, and the method of their being brought to light was such, as to justify more extended comment.

For many years it had been known that the Municipal Assembly in St. Louis was more or less corrupt, and that

The Government of the City. many franchises of greater or less value had been obtained by bribery or political influence; but it was known only in so vague and indefinite a way that no effective movement could be made to check it. The city has been, since 1876, operating under a special charter, as a separate municipal-

ity. Its government is administered by a Mayor and a Municipal Assembly, consisting of a Council and a House of Delegates; the Council being composed of thirteen members, elected at large, and the House of Delegates of twenty-eight members, one elected from each ward. These two bodies are of co-ordinate powers, and no franchise can be granted without their concurrence in the passage of the necessary ordinance, and the approval of the Mayor. The Councilmen are elected for four-year terms, and Delegates for two years. The Mayor holds office for four years and appoints heads of departments for four-year terms, these appointments being made after the Mayor has been in office for two years. In theory, the organization is excellent, the charter being, on the whole, well designed and containing ample safeguards; but, of course, no charter provisions can avail against combinations of dishonest public servants. Such combinations have undoubtedly existed from time to time for many years past; but their operations, up to within the last five years, were comparatively insignificant. Gaining assurance by success, and by the apparent public indifference to their operations, the members grew bolder and matters took their inevitable course, so that in the year 1899 a combination was organized in each House of the Assembly, consisting of seven members in the Council and nineteen in the House. Each of these combinations had its leader, who was also its spokesman. The Council combine was represented by Charles Kratz, already mentioned as

The "Combines." a fugitive from justice; that in the House by one John K. Murrell. The business, as shown by the sworn testimony of members of each "Combine," was thoroughly systematized; a scale of prices was fixed upon franchises of all kinds, from a railroad switch or an excavation in the streets, to traction and lighting contracts of enormous value. It developed in the testimony that the conspirators even bound themselves together with a solemn oath of fealty to each other, blasphemously calling upon the Almighty to set the seal of divine approval upon their compact of infamy. The oath was in the following words:

"I do solemnly swear before the Almighty God that in

associating myself and in becoming a member of this Combine,
The Oath. I will vote and act with the Combine whenever
and wherever I may be so ordered to do;

"And I further solemnly swear that I will not
at any place or time reveal the fact that there is a Combine, and
that I will not communicate to any person or persons anything
that may take place at any meeting of the Combine;

"And I do solemnly agree that, in case I should reveal the
fact than any person in this Combine has received money, I
hereby permit and authorize other members of this Combine
to take the forfeit of my life in such manner as they may
deem proper, and that my throat may be cut, my tongue
torn out, and my body cast into the Mississippi river.

"And all of this I do solemnly swear, so help me God."

Negotiations were conducted by the representatives of the
two "Combines," as they were called, either directly with busi-
ness men who were willing to meet them, or
Edward Butler. through agents or brokers acting as go-betweens
for the seekers and sellers of municipal privi-
leges. The principal one of these agents was Edward Butler,
for many years the head man of the Democratic local machine.
This remarkable man, though of scant education and humble
beginnings, has risen to such bad eminence that his personality
is of special interest to the student of public affairs. A black-
smith by trade, he came to St. Louis as a young man, and,
by his industry and skill as a handicraftsman, built up a suc-
cessful business in horse-shoeing, at the same time taking an
active part in politics. It is generally believed that his first
large undertaking in the way of delivering votes for pay was
at the time of the adoption of the present city charter; in 1876,
when, for an agreed consideration, he engaged to make the
election returns show a rejection of the charter. In this he
failed in the desired object, although, it is said, he did pro-
cure the casting of the agreed number of fraudulent votes;
the reason of the failure being that the estimate of the num-
ber required was too small. Since that time he has contin-
uously exerted a powerful influence with each succeeding
Assembly, founded upon a system of electing to office persons

from either one or both political parties who would best suit his purposes, pledged to carry out his plans. Possessed of great natural shrewdness, a kind heart, conspicuous domestic virtues and a liberal disposition, he acquired a reputation also for fair treatment and fidelity to those who served him. Adding to these qualities an indefatigable industry, his power increased year by year, until it reached proportions almost despotic. He named candidates on both tickets, fixed, collected and disbursed campaign assessments, determined the results in elections, and, in fine, practically controlled the public affairs of St. Louis. His sway continued for twenty years or more, supreme and unbroken, almost undisputed, until the cataclysm which followed these disclosures overwhelmed him in the general ruin. He is now an old man, rich in this world's goods, but shorn of power and influence—a pathetic monument of the folly of evil doing.

As an instance of his confident effrontery, it may be said that after the exposure of the "Suburban Deal" he was quoted in the press as saying that the company had failed because it employed inexperienced representatives; that when he undertook matters of that kind he always succeeded, and that in such cases, when he had exerted the needed influence and received his "fee," it was his custom to "go home and pray that the measure might pass"—and, he added, "usually my prayers were answered."

These were the general conditions, and this was the man who was partly their author and in part their product, when the first of these plots to be exposed was discovered in the "Suburban Deal."

The facts in this case were, that certain of the officers of the Suburban Railway Company, desiring a valuable extension of its franchise, first sought Butler's aid in securing it from the Assembly; but the negotiations with him failed because his price was too high, and the representatives of the railroad company undertook to treat directly with the two "combines." The price finally agreed upon was \$75,000 for the House and \$60,000 for the Council. The President

**The Suburban
Railway
Franchise.**

and two of the Directors of the company borrowed the total sum of \$135,000, and turned it over to a "legislative agent" of their own selection. He placed the \$60,000 in bills in a safe-deposit box, of which he held one key and Kratz, the representative of the Council "Combine," the other. A similar arrangement was made as to the \$75,000, which was bestowed in another safe-deposit box, of which Murrell, the representative of the House "Combine," also held a second key. The two "combines" kept their agreement, and the ordinance was rapidly pushed through both houses of the Assembly, some of the conspirators voting against and even denouncing the measure, in order to throw dust in the eyes of the public. The transaction would undoubtedly have been completed but for the fact that property owners along the line of the proposed road instituted injunction proceedings against the Assembly, which had the effect of delaying matters until the House of Delegates passed out of existence by the expiration of its term. The "Combines," however, claimed that they had kept their promise, and demanded the money. The representatives of the railroad company refused to pay, because the company had received no benefit. A bitter altercation ensued, which, in the end, resulted in the discovery of the plot. The parties had tied their hands so that neither could move without the consent of the other; the would-be bribe-takers were incensed because they deemed themselves unfairly treated, and the would-be bribers were unwilling to pay, because their scheme had failed; hence, the rogues having fallen out, the disclosures followed in this wise: The grumblings of the disappointed conspirators became so loud and their rage so unrestrained that, bit by bit, they told their grievance, first to one friend and then to another, so that at last the thing was "in the air." An enterprising and courageous reporter of one of the local newspapers, James M. Galvin by name, a man of incorruptible integrity and high sense of public duty, gathered up the threads of the plot and published substantially the whole infamous story. By this means the attention of the Circuit Attorney, Joseph W. Folk, was first drawn to the matter. That

**Galvin's
Exposure.**

officer vigorously pursued the investigation, and, with the aid of further information secured from Mr. Galvin and elsewhere, soon found himself in a position where he could lay the matter before the Grand Jury. The publications undoubtedly carried alarm to the conspirators, for just about this time the leader of the House "Combine" wrote a letter to the "legislative agent" of the company, demanding a meeting at the safe-deposit company's office and a division of the spoils. This letter went astray, and a copy of it was placed in the hands of the Circuit Attorney. Further publications were made from time to time, which had the effect of frightening the bribe-takers in both Houses. Many of these were summoned in person before the Grand Jury and interrogated as to the facts, all knowledge of which they stoutly denied; and when, subsequently, the necessary evidence was secured, those persons were indicted for perjury. Gradually, by the skill and persistence of the Circuit Attorney, the whole villainous scheme was laid bare, and only the legal evidence was needed to convict the malefactors. The president of the railroad company and its "legislative agent" were both notified by the Circuit Attorney that they must either furnish that evidence or take their chances under indictment; both turned State's evidence. Convictions rapidly followed. Kratz, leader of the "Council Combine," and Murrill, leader of the "House Combine," both incontinently fled the country. Subsequently the latter returned and became a witness for the State and through his testimony other convictions were procured.

The trials were attended by many interesting and dramatic scenes. The actual production in court of the bribe money was in itself a novel and spectacular feature.

The Trials. It was almost like the introduction of the body of the victim in a murder trial. The defendants, supplied with ample funds, employed able counsel. The cases were tried with great skill upon both sides. Public interest and excitement became intense. There being no provision of law for the extraordinary expenses of the State made necessary by these trials, private subscriptions had to be raised to assist the Circuit Attorney to the amount of thousands of

dollars ; and later, the Mayor of the city, after vainly endeavoring to secure a proper appropriation for that purpose from the Assembly, procured, by his own efforts for the Circuit Attorney's use, more than \$13,000, \$1,500 of which was of his own private funds. Without this aid the great work which has been accomplished must have failed.

In the beginning it was supposed by the "boodlers" and their allies that the efforts of the Circuit Attorney would be futile, as had so often been the case with his predecessors, and little uneasiness was felt amongst them. When, however, it became apparent that this official was absolutely incorruptible and without fear, personally or politically, alarm spread among the ranks of the conspirators ; and when his first success was scored in the conviction of a member of the Council whose case was generally regarded as one of the most difficult to establish, dismay succeeded to alarm and many of the members sought safety in confession. Finding, however, that the State had all the testimony it needed in reference to the "Suburban Deal" they began to tell of other transactions of a similar nature. Thus first came to light the "Central Traction Deal." In this case it appeared that previous Assemblies had long held the various traction companies of the city in the bondage of blackmail, many of the members being the recipients of a regular salary of \$5,000 per annum, in return for which they were expected to prevent any legislation hostile to the companies ; but their appetites grew with what they fed upon and when a new "Richmond" appeared in the field, in the person of one Robert M. Snyder, the members refused, in the parlance of their class, to "stay bought." And this ambitious promoter readily succeeded, for the sum of \$250,000, in obtaining the franchise he sought. When these facts came to the Circuit Attorney's knowledge, it was unfortunately too late to take any action except in the case of Snyder himself, because of the fact that the three years statute of limitations had barred the offense in the case of all others concerned ; Snyder, having been part of the time since the transaction a non-resident of the State, the statute did not aid him, and he

Central Traction Deal.

was indicted, convicted and sentenced to five years in the penitentiary.

Out of the mass of testimony taken in these several matters developed also the scheme known as the "Garbage Deal." Edward Butler, the principal owner of the stock of the St. Louis Sanitary Company, was desirous of securing a renewal of that company's contract with the city for the **Garbage Deal.** reduction of its garbage. In order to accomplish this it became necessary that the Board of Health should recommend a renewal of the contract to the Municipal Assembly. Butler approached two different members of this board and offered them \$2,500 each for their respective votes. The offers were refused. An indictment was found against Butler in each case, and by reason of that fortunate provision of the law which permitted each of the persons to whom the bribe was offered to testify in both cases, a conviction was secured and the would-be bribe-giver is now under sentence for three years in State's prison. The case was, however, appealed, and is still pending in the Supreme Court.

The "Lighting Deal" was the next matter taken up. The testimony in this case developed that when the city was about to make the contract for street lighting there were competing bidders. One of these, in its anxiety to secure the contract, is said to have employed Butler to negotiate with **Lighting Deal.** the Assembly for the necessary ordinance. Investigation led to Butler's indictment for having paid to the "House Combine" the sum of \$47,500, in return for which the contract was duly authorized.

In the course of these investigations other important matters developed, such as the attempted influencing of juries, malfeasance in office of certain delegates, and the sale of privileges by officials of a former administration. All of these were promptly met by indictment. Certain cases of election frauds were also discovered and a number of offenders convicted. The municipal waters were indeed stirred to their profoundest depths and an aroused public opinion rejoiced in the result. Conditions had arisen under which the old order of things could

no longer exist. These conditions were not wholly due to the disclosures in these bribery cases, but in large part to antecedent causes, as will be presently shown.

Prior to the election of November, 1900, there had begun a gradual movement toward municipal reform. For four years

Movement preceding the present city administration, St. Louis had suffered under one of the most **Toward Reform.** corrupt and debased of governmental tyrannies.

The Mayor, most of the Assembly, and almost the entire administrative force, were given over to a riot of corruption, which was aggravated by an insolent and scornful contempt for public opinion and municipal decency. At the election of November, 1900, the Independents effected an arrangement with the Democratic machine whereby there was placed in the field a ticket of irreproachable candidates upon a platform which ignored national issues and declared exclusively for good government. A long-suffering public rose in its wrath and smote the despoilers by electing the whole ticket, which included amongst others the present Circuit Attorney, Joseph W. Folk, an unwilling candidate for the office, which he has since filled with such signal fidelity and success.

The results of this election were so satisfactory that, under a similar arrangement between the Democratic machine and

Mayor the reform element, a full municipal ticket was **Rolla Wells.** named and subsequently elected by a large

majority, in the spring of 1901; this ticket was composed of men, with few insignificant exceptions, chosen solely with reference to merit. The platform again declared for good government, and good government only. At the head of the list as candidate for Mayor was Mr. Rolla Wells, a gentleman of high standing in the business community, and known as a man of intrepid courage and the highest political ideals. One of his first acts after election was to serve notice upon Butler that party services alone would no longer be recognized as a test for official appointment. The first two years of his administration which have now passed have not only vindicated the wisdom of his selection, but have marked him as a splendid example of the highest order of American citizenship. He has

made merit the sole test of every appointment. He has subordinated every interest, personal and party, to the public good, and in the face of difficulties, the like of which have seldom if ever existed, has transacted the great business of the municipality along lines of efficiency, the value of which it is impossible to overstate. Not the least of his achievements consists in the fact that, whilst all party considerations have been unhesitatingly subordinated to the public good, he has wisely coöperated with the party organization in such fashion as to materially strengthen the cause of good government and accomplish results without which all efforts at reform would have been unavailing. Holding the view that under existing conditions and until that state of affairs shall arise when political parties shall be eliminated from the conduct of municipal affairs, no administration can be successful without the aid of party organizations, he has, with absolute fidelity to the public service, afforded such recognition to those in control of his party organization as not only to insure their present coöperation of its leaders in the cause of good government, but to convince them that the future welfare of a party is always dependent upon its record for good administration of public affairs. Thus, through this wise and politic course, he has so committed these leaders to this view, that in the autumn campaign of 1902 and the April campaign of this year they placed in nomination men selected, with few exceptions, upon the basis of fitness for office; and the wisdom of this procedure has been demonstrated both by the phenomenal success of his administration and by the continued popular endorsement of the two tickets last elected, the major parts of both of which were nominated under the influence of this good government impulse. The people of St. Louis ought to be and are deeply sensible of the debt of gratitude they owe to this man of high purpose and stainless character, who, at great sacrifice of time and labor and substance, has with patient industry driven out from the city government the barnacles and the plunderers and organized an administration, clean, honest and able, redolent of an atmosphere of civic patriotism. To him we owe the strength of public opinion,

paralyzed for a time by the years of unchecked debauchery of the public service, which was inspired with a new hope by his achievements and rose with triumphant courage to indorse the Circuit Attorney's assault upon the stronghold of legislative iniquity.

No account of those events would be complete without a word about the Circuit Attorney, Joseph W. Folk, who has borne so large a share in them. Mr. Folk, **Joseph W. Folk.** when elected Circuit Attorney in the autumn of 1900, was a young lawyer recently come from Tennessee with but little experience at the criminal bar. The men who then stood for evil-doing in the Democratic machine would probably never have consented to his nomination had they believed he would be elected. After election, when it was found that he was imbued with the idea, now somewhat antiquated amongst the worst class of machine politicians, viz., that a public official owed fealty first to the public and then to his party, consternation reigned amongst the lawbreakers. Influences of every kind were brought to bear upon him but he stood firm and with inflexible courage and untiring energy has performed splendid service to the city of his adoption. Elected on the same ticket with Mr. Folk, was Mr. W. Scott Hancock, Assistant Circuit Attorney, also a young lawyer of limited experience, but of stainless character and fine parts, by whose enthusiastic labors the good cause has been vastly helped. Early associating with himself a corps of able assistants, Mr. C. Orrick Bishop, the ablest prosecutor at the bar, and Mr. A. C. Maroney, a capable and forceful lawyer, both men of invincible honesty and the truest devotion to the public service, he has, with their invaluable aid, accomplished a most extraordinary task. Besides disposing of the regular criminal docket, which, in a city the size of St. Louis, is always large, he has prosecuted, and with conspicuous success, a large number of election fraud cases, and, in addition, the avalanche of causes resulting from these disclosures.

It may be noted as an interesting fact in connection with these incidents, that during the last municipal campaign an effort was made to make it appear that antagonism existed

between the Circuit Attorney and the Mayor of the city, the charge being one trumped up for partisan purposes and being wholly without foundation.

**Alleged
Antagonism.**

These two officials, standing, as they do, as the most conspicuous advocates for and expressions of the good-government idea in municipal affairs, were not deceived, or in the least deflected from the strict line of duty by this canard. Mr. Folk well knew and freely stated that the Mayor had rendered him invaluable aid in the past and could be relied upon to uphold his good work with all the power at his command. The Mayor, fully appreciating the Circuit Attorney's achievements, was in thorough sympathy with his high aims, and, with the dignity of true manhood, maintained an attitude perfectly consistent with his high character and ideals; and so this dastardly attack on the cause of good government failed. But from the point of view of one who cherishes the hope of good government, it is a most lamentable fact that many good citizens, honest, serious-minded men, slow to believe evil of any one, were for a time utterly misled by the senseless newspaper clamor, which willfully misrepresented the position of these good men. A partisan press has many evil deeds to answer for, but none more detestable than this.

It is germane to the subject to notice the fact that from the widely published accounts of these disclosures there has been deduced a strange and most unwarranted conclusion. One writer has gone so far as to entitle his account of these events as "The Shamelessness of St. Louis," basing the

**The Shame-
lessness of
St. Louis.** epithet upon an alleged supineness of the people in reference thereto, involving not only an indifference to the moral questions involved,

but an actual aversion to the continuance of this crusade against municipal vice. Others have asserted that the whole episode was a mere sensational sham and that neither the Circuit Attorney nor the public favored the vigorous prosecution of these criminals, on the theory that under modern conditions great corporations enjoying municipal privileges, must be protected from officials in piratical guise, and

that the only way to accomplish this end is by means of money. Nothing could be further from the truth than these assertions. The public interest in these disclosures and prosecutions became intense at the very beginning and has been maintained without intermission to the present time ; and upon this interest has arisen a public opinion widespread, thoroughly aroused and inexorable, which has not only enthusiastically supported the Circuit Attorney throughout, but has at times become almost hysterically sensitive to any criticism of his acts. No better proof of this could be asked than the fact that every defendant who has been arraigned has sought a change of venue from the city, on the ground that it was impossible for him to obtain a fair trial in this community on account of the prejudice, not only against the crime of which he was accused, but against his own person, however obscure he may have been. Moreover, as already shown, ample funds have been raised by private subscription to furnish the Circuit Attorney with the sinews of war. Every newspaper in the city has from the beginning, with more or less zeal and fervor, commended and extolled his action in terms at times almost extravagant, and finally if any further proof were needed, it is a fact beyond all question that at the present time Mr. Folk is probably not only the best-known citizen of this city, but that the community regards him in the light of a hero and is prepared to go to any lengths in his support.

In one of the trials, counsel asked the indulgence of the jury for his client charged with bribery of the Assembly on **A Conventional Crime.** the ground that the crime was only a "conventional" one,—that it was a necessity for corporate interests to protect themselves by this means; the plea was promptly met by a verdict of "guilty" and five years in prison. The charge that a city which has dealt with these great municipal crimes in such a spirit and with such extraordinary results is "shameless" is little less than ridiculous. Such a charge might have had some foundation before these disclosures were made for the reason that any community where such conditions were believed to exist which did not bestir itself to discover and punish them might

be thought wanting in its duty ; but where, as in this instance, the disclosures were immediately followed by sixty indictments and fourteen convictions out of fifteen cases tried, and by the laying bare of the whole hideous program of spoliation, the suggestion of indifference or apathy, to say nothing of "shamelessness," is utterly undeserved if not actually malicious. As well might one say that the City of New York was "shameless" when it overthrew Fernando Wood and prosecuted Tweed, or that Minneapolis was shameless when it purged itself of the rascally gang who had seized upon its governmental functions. The Circuit Attorney himself put the matter very tersely (and the remark applies not only to St. Louis but to all communities) when he said that ninety-nine per cent of the people of St. Louis are honest, but that the other one per cent are perniciously active. And when the ninety-nine per cent proceeded with vigor and dispatch to convict and imprison the most perniciously active of the other one per cent, to call the act shameless is to use words very much in the way in which "Humpty Dumpty" in the story book is said to have done, not confining himself to accepted meanings, but using any word he chose to express any sentiment he pleased.

As bearing upon the general effect of these disclosures upon municipal affairs the election which took place in the City of St. Louis on the 7th of this month is interesting inasmuch as its true meaning has been widely misunderstood and consid-

April, 1903 erably misrepresented. A prominent New
Election. York journal has editorially charged that the

election of a Democratic ticket was of itself an evidence of a corrupt combination between the present administration and the Democratic machine. A careful analysis of the situation quite refutes this conclusion as can be shown in a very few words.

This election was for six members of the Municipal Council and twenty-eight members of the House of Delegates together with four members of the School Board and an Inspector of Weights and Measures. Prior to this election, the Council with a Democratic majority of one, was composed of

excellent men with scarcely an exception. The House of Delegates, with a preponderance of Democrats in it, was with few exceptions composed of men purely the product of a party machinery, yet without any real political principles and most of them altogether degraded and unreliable. There were four members of the School Board to be elected, and under a practice instituted some years since, it was understood in advance that two Republicans and two Democrats should be nominated, each party accepting the two nominees of the other. Four excellent men were thus named and elected. It will readily be seen that the election was a most important one.

As has been said, for some time previous to the actual disclosures above narrated the spirit of reform had been aroused and increasing in strength. Those who had been for long toiling to better municipal conditions, by independent movements, and by trying to awaken a sentiment in the community of sufficiently sustained strength to demand good municipal government, were at last aided in their work by a situation which arose at the election of 1900, whereby, without sacrifice of principle, they were able to accomplish invaluable results. Their arrangement with the Democratic machine involved no surrender of principle. It consisted in an agreement that the Independents should name the ticket, write the platform and furnish the legitimate expenses of the campaign, and that the machine should use its organization in a legitimate manner to elect the ticket. The machine had consented to the arrangement, because it despaired of victory if left to its own resources. The Independents saw their opportunity and established what was thoroughly understood to be a *modus vivendi*. In the joint caucuses it was recognized by all that the arrangement was not a permanent one, and that the probabilities were that at the next municipal election the Independents would be against the machine, as theretofore. But when the election of 1901 drew near it was found that like conditions still existed, and so that campaign was conducted under a similar arrangement, as also was the election in the autumn of 1902; so that this spirit of reform fostered by the good government resulting from

**The Spirit
of Reform.**

these elections, gathered such force prior to the campaign of this month that it was generally conceded that none but candidates of high standing would receive the sanction of the voters at large. Under these influences and with the laudable desire to continue to deserve the public approval, the Democratic machine again conferred with the Independents, and as a result, five of the six nominees for the Council were men of unchallenged superiority, men of the very highest business and social rank. The sixth man ranked not so high, but yet above the average partisan nomination. Emulous of this triumph of the good government idea, the Republicans placed in nomination a Council ticket on the whole superior in personnel to the Democratic nominees. In the matter of the House of Delegates, however, the problem of effecting an organization in the twenty-eight wards sufficiently strong to overcome local influences was too difficult for the Independents in either party to cope with successfully, although in some of the wards Independent candidates were named. As a consequence, while the twenty-eight nominations on both sides were above the average of party performances in the past, they did not, as a whole, measure up to a proper civic standard. The result showed the election of the entire Democratic Council ticket by a majority of more than eighteen thousand votes, and, as the Republican Election Commissioner is reported to have said, "they were legitimate votes, too."

The Recent Advances. Of the Delegates, one Independent, five Republicans and twenty-two Democrats went into office by majorities varying according to the characteristics of their respective wards. This body has organized, and it is now fully known that a majority of its members will stand as a unit for all good government measures. Previous to the election, it was a fact well known that the Democratic organization was confident and united; the Republicans split into bitterly antagonistic factions. Only about sixty-two thousand votes were cast at this election, less than one-half of the total registration. An analysis of the returns shows that the results were due to the fact that nearly the full Democratic vote was cast and that the Republican vote either stayed at home or voted for Independent or Democratic nominees.

It is hard to deduce from these facts any such conclusions as that above referred to. On the other hand it must be clear to the thoughtful mind —

Conclusions. First. That the false issue between the Circuit Attorney and the Mayor, injected into the campaign for partisan purposes, was ignored.

Second. That two years of a Democratic administration conducted by officials chosen, as has been stated, unpledged except as to a strict performance of public duty, had satisfied the public that for the present, at least, the best results were to be obtained from the Democratic party.

Third. That the captious criticisms launched at those Independents who coöperated with the Democratic machine in the manner above stated in the cause of good government, had made no impression upon the public mind ; and that their action was sanctioned by all fair-minded persons.

Fourth. That the Democratic leaders had rightly read the lesson of the past, had correctly gauged public sentiment and had met its demands by naming, as a rule, good men for office. As Milton says of one who shall here be nameless, they "saw how awful goodness is ; virtue in her shape, how lovely," and, with wise discretion, they rose to the occasion ; and

Fifth. That it could not be true that "every candidate endorsed by Mr. Folk was defeated," as was said by the same New York journal, because Mr. Folk did not endorse any candidate, announcing that he would take no active part in any campaign, because he thought it improper in view of the peculiar nature of his office.

Two other matters remain to be noticed, because of their special interest to all concerned in the cause for which this League contends.

The first is that the St. Louis Republic, a strictly partisan Democratic journal, rose to the dignity of true civic patriotism by selecting the best candidates for the House of Delegates, whether Democratic, Republican or Independent, and in recommending them to all voters, irrespective of party affiliations, reflected infinite credit upon the intelligence and honesty of its management.

The St. Louis Republic.

The second is the change of the election law. During the three municipal campaigns preceding the last the press had indulged in violent denunciation of the so-called "Nesbit" law, ascribing all Democratic successes to frauds committed under protection of that measure. The law was, as a matter of fact, incomplete in its safeguards and subject to great abuses in the hands of dishonest officials. The public mind had become thoroughly saturated with the belief that it was wholly without merit, and designed solely as an instrument for fraud. The members of the leading Democratic club of St. Louis, under the sagacious guidance of Mr. Harry B. Hawes, its president, recognized that an election law which does not command the confidence of the public, however meritorious it may be, should not be allowed to stand. Consequently, calling to their aid men of the highest standing in the city, these Democrats prepared, presented and procured the passage through the Legislature, of a statute which is probably as complete and well considered as any election law ever enacted.

These two incidents, coupled with the obvious recognition on the part of the local Democratic leaders, that the best assurance of party supremacy is good administration of public affairs, indicate an uplifting of what might be called the party conscience, which carries with it proof of substantial gain in the cause of good government.

Another gratifying fact in connection with these disclosures is the part played therein, as already stated, by Mr. Galvin, in view of the fact of his connection with the newspaper profession. The newspaper men of to-day, are as a class, intelligent and honorable, and possess unequaled opportunities and incentives for obtaining knowledge of public as well as private crimes; yet nothing is better known than that in most cases their lips are sealed by business or political considerations affecting the conduct of the journals which they represent, and, unfortunately, too often by pecuniary considerations. Had they the independence and the courage to disclose all they know, it is safe to say that many a dark deed which has never been exposed

would have been dealt with at the hands of justice. For this reason all the more credit is due to this fearless and public-spirited man, who without hope of reward or fear of consequences, performed his simple duty. It is not too much to say that the people of St. Louis and of the whole country owe him a large and lasting obligation. I deem it fitting at this time to record this recognition of his service, not only because it is so well deserved, but in the hope that his fine example will not be without effect upon his brethren of the pen. With their aid in turning the search-light of publicity upon the stealthy deeds of public plunderers, the cause of good government would gain an invincible ally.

There are, I think, no deductions of a philosophical nature to be drawn from these occurrences. The crimes exposed were neither unique in character nor in their method of execution, nor were the amounts involved, considering the vast values in modern times of municipal privileges, so great as to warrant special consideration. These conclusions, however, are clearly obvious, viz., that the exposures were more complete, the criminals more vigorously and effectively dealt with and the popular approval more spontaneous and lasting than in most cases of the kind. The other features of special note are that bribe-givers and bribe-takers alike were visited with just retribution ; that the capitalist as well as the saloon-keeper was made to face the bar with equal impartiality ; that neither political, personal, social nor business influence was able in the least to affect the course of justice, and that, as a net result, there has been a most gratifying purification of the municipal atmosphere. Viewed from the standpoint of past experience it is but one of those moral upliftings which from time to time visit every community. That it will be followed by a period of municipal depression no one can doubt, but it is equally sure that, with each upheaval of this kind, the standards of municipal administration are raised and the alertness of public opinion to maintain such standards distinctly increased. No man will contend that St. Louis is forever regenerated, but none will deny that its municipal conditions are definitely, substantially

Philosophical Deductions.

and permanently improved. Moreover, with each improvement of this kind in one municipality, the cause of good government, generally, gains an additional impetus, since the betterment of one adds the emphasis of example to precept and raises the average in every municipality in the land. Herein lies the reason for present congratulation and hope for the future; herein, also, may be found the proof positive of the existence and the vital power of that spirit of reform engendered by the splendid and enduring work of those who founded and fostered this League. These incidents in St. Louis bring into prominence once more the facts so familiar to all students of municipal government—that the problems presented are neither complexed nor insoluble; that municipal business is, as a matter of fact, a very simple affair. The difficulties which arise are not inherent in the business itself, but are due solely to the fact of insufficient interest in public affairs on the part of the people. It is but stating a truism to say that ordinary business prudence, sagacity and honesty applied to the affairs of any municipality would produce satisfactory results. It is a matter of common knowledge that the reason such prudence, sagacity and honesty are not applied is that the people who pay taxes and own the property abdicated their governmental functions in favor of those who have no interest except public plunder. The magnitude of the public business and the complex machinery invented for its dispatch, but more than all the secrecy with which its administration is accomplished, are the means used by dishonest public officials for accomplishing their purposes. Publicity of every detail connected with municipal affairs, a reformed civil service which will insure in all administrative offices honest and capable persons, a general intelligent interest in public affairs, these and these only are the correctives for present abuses. The American people are so wasteful of their resources, so indifferent to the economic conduct of their public affairs, both national and municipal, that it will be long before their ingenuity and intelligence are applied to public matters as they are to their private concerns. That time will, of course, surely come, but it will come only with the realization of these fundamental propositions, involv-

ing, as they do, so much reckless disregard for the public property. It will come, however, only after a long and painful educational course involving just such experiences as we have had in St. Louis, but it will not come so long as there are those who think that taking a hand in politics is a "dirty business" instead of a paramount duty, nor until the spirit of commercial greed which now absorbs us to the exclusion of civic as well as national patriotism shall have given way to the broader, saner, higher standards of good citizenship.

The Minneapolis House-Cleaning

By WILLIAM A. FRISBIE

City Editor "Minneapolis Journal"

If "blessings brighten as they take their flight," there was certainly one time in the career of Dr. A. A. Ames when he may have figured in the role of a positive blessing. For, although a condition closely bordering on municipal anarchy immediately followed his hasty departure from Minneapolis, the Ames experience was the bitter medicine which has ultimately wrought a good work in the community.

As a scientific student of popular favor, as a desperate gambler with policies as pawns, and as an exponent of the fact that municipalities are forgetful and forgiving, Dr. Ames is a character whose career must always be of interest to those interested in city government, and Minneapolis

Dr. A. A. Ames. must always have a place in the list of illustrative cases on which municipal theories or deductions are based. It is possible that Ames was especially favored in his schemes by being placed in a community somewhat strongly marked by the inertia of a large part of the population; but such a heroic figure of a demagogue as he would be bound to have some effect in any community.

Dr. A. A. Ames has been four times Mayor of Minneapolis, and he has never been elected to succeed himself. This is deeply significant of the forgetful or careless disposition of the community over whose destinies he has so many times presided. His first term brought out no particular moral obliquities, and his failure of reëlection at its end was merely a political happen-stance. His second term developed scandals which should have caused an uproar, but in a growing community but lately graduated from village clothes they were condoned or overlooked. His third term was a stench, an offense against honesty, decency and even ordinary safety of the common citizen. At last outraged Minneapolis pointed to Ames with a

"Thou art the man" which he could not avoid. His name became a byword, the synonym for all that was low and vile in city government. For twelve years the "notorious Ames administration" was used as a standard of comparison by writers or speakers who wished to express the utter extreme of corruption. Early in this period of political retirement came Ames' domestic trouble, which shed a garish light upon his character as a husband and father. Policemen were present at his wife's funeral to keep him off the premises, and the public knew it all.

Apparently hopelessly damned politically, socially and professionally, Ames dropped from sight in Minneapolis. But even though he had left the city and had ceased to seek office, his monument of filth remained.

And this is the man whom the Republican party nominated and elected Mayor in 1900. A primary election law was in effect that year for the first time. It permitted a member of any party to help nominate candidates for any other party—a defect which has since been remedied. Ames had been a

Election of 1900 Democrat, but now came out as a Republican. He was believed still to have a personal following of about 1,500 and it was "close" on the State ticket, so the party managers gulped down the nasty dose and accepted him as their candidate for Mayor to help out the rest of the ticket. In the campaign Ames admitted past failures, but he had been through the fire, he had become a Republican and, as an old man, he wanted one more chance to show that he could give the city a good administration. A lot of citizens who could not stomach Ames and opposed the Democratic candidate, put up a really good man as an Independent candidate, and the result was that Ames stalked majestically into office, professing to feel that he had regained his proud distinction as "the man of the people."

In conjunction with Ames' last preceding administration, there had been certain notable lieutenants who had found it advisable to leave the city or drop into obscurity upon his retirement. Their names lived on, however, being regarded in municipal folk-

lore by later comers much in the light of Captain Kidd, Blue Beard or other semi-mythical monsters. Between the time of Ames' election and his inauguration these worthies flocked back to the feast which they scented afar off. Again they became real men, and it soon became apparent that Ames, in his earnest desire to "do better," was to make use of their disinterested and high-minded services.

Under a somewhat antiquated charter, the Mayor of Minneapolis is, in reality, little more than the head of the Police Department. In this department his power is absolute; in other departments, the City Council exercises appointive and supervisory powers. Police Department. But the Police Department numbers two hundred and sixteen men—a fair nucleus of a machine. Within a few weeks from Ames' induction into office, exactly one-half the police force had been replaced by new men. Political lieutenants, who did not give a moment's time to official duties, were given commissions and drew high salaries as police officers. Titled positions were multiplied, for Ames had an almost senile love of military pomp and display; and the number of detectives was trebled. These appointments were sinecures. Ames' brother—a weak, vacillating person, entirely vacant of initiative or moral individuality,—was made Chief of Police. With this equipment of self-seeking favorites, criminally disposed or incompetent detectives, and sympathetic patrolmen, Ames started out to "do better."

Ames was pitifully susceptible to flattery. Favoritism became the order of the day; cliques innumerable sprang up; the entire administration, so far as Ames dominated it, was soon "all shot to pieces" by jealousies and selfish rivalry. "The graft" began to be organized along various lines. Ames' friends say he was innocent of the initiative in this form of dishonesty. There are, however, seven indictments charging him directly with various connections with "the Graft."

into the office of Mayor with the deliberate intention of squeezing out every cent of dirty money that the position would yield. However that may be, the several

favorites in and out of the Police Department soon became known as the respective heads of systems of blackmail. This man collected from the gamblers, that one took tribute from the abandoned women, another saw that piratical auction-shops paid for their privileges. Saloon-men were frequently given opportunity to contribute toward gold stars for police officials, and took advantage of the entente thereby established. Confidence men operated shamelessly and divided conscientiously with "the old man" and the police. Safe-blowers came to police headquarters for helpers, whose presence at the job would lend safety to the operation. Even the humble push-cart peddler was not overlooked, and there was a "miscellaneous" department in this elaborate system of graft. It is no exaggeration to say that in this period fully 99 per cent of the Police Department's efficiency was devoted to the devising and enforcing of blackmail. Ordinary patrolmen on beats feared to arrest known criminals, for fear the prisoners would prove to be "protected." And the example of superior officers was either paralyzing to the patrolman's efficiency or stimulative to his cupidity. The horde of detective favorites hung lazily about police headquarters, waiting for some citizen to make complaint of property stolen, only that they might enforce additional blackmail against the thief or possibly secure the booty for themselves. One detective is now serving time in the State's prison for thus retaining a stolen diamond pin. Citizens reporting small losses, with no possibility of a "side graft," were driven from headquarters by foul-tongued abuse. The victim of confidence men was made to believe that he himself was *particeps criminis* and was frightened out of the city. The press repeatedly and pointedly alluded to the suspicious features of many cases, but the blackmailers fell back behind the impregnable bulwark of "prove it if you can."

The April Grand Jury.

It was after fifteen months of this sort of thing that the now famous "April grand jury" came in. Previous grand juries had tried to find a breach in the Ames fortifications but had failed. The April grand jury was especially fortunate in having as foreman Hovey

C. Clarke, a man of indomitable energy, high financial standing and shrewdness. When the arrest and conviction of two long successful and protected confidence men had resulted from a disagreement between city administration cliques, and the convicted men had disclosed the inside facts regarding the graft system, the revelation was a distinct shock and surprise to the grand jury foreman. He found a working majority in the grand jury with him, and the task of cleaning the Augean stables began. It is notable that the exposure finally came through no effort originating with the public, but simply through the internal rottenness of the corrupt machine. But as indictment after indictment

was reported by the grand jury against Police Revelations. Department officials or other members of the

Ames gang, there was a great show of public approval of the work. As the indications began to point more surely to the implication of Ames himself, there was some effort by personal friends to save him the embarrassment, but the grand jury went right ahead.

Trials began, and there were more revelations and more indictments. Chief of Police Ames was indicted, tried, the jury disagreed, and he was again indicted. Then he was discovered missing and was declared a fugitive. Later he returned and was convicted of receiving a bribe. Mayor Ames, his machine demolished beyond repair, quietly slid out of the city to Indiana, and it was announced that he would make his residence there. He resigned early in August and the city was left for a time to run itself, for it was *sauve qui peut* with the old régime, and the new had not yet come in.

Subsequent grand juries continued the municipal inquiry. Indictments and Trials. More indictments were found. The investigation has continued just one year, the January (1903) grand jury having recently reported that the subject seemed to have been exhausted. Total results are :

Indictments returned	49
Number persons affected	12
Trials held	7
Convictions	5
Commitments to prison	2

Two or three of the indicted officials are fugitives. Mayor Ames himself has been a fugitive, and was brought back to Minneapolis in the middle of March as a prisoner.* He pleaded not guilty to the following indictments: Receiving a bribe of \$25 from an abandoned woman. Receiving a bribe of \$600 from similar sources. Conspiracy, together with Irwin A. Gardner and Christopher Norbeck. Extortion, together with Irwin A. Gardner, of \$15 from Ida Elliott. Receiving a bribe of \$25 from an auctioneer. Receiving a bribe of \$100 down and \$25 a month from Joseph Reis, auctioneer. Receiving a bribe of \$100 down and \$50 a month from B. D. Crandall, auctioneer.

With the downfall of Ames there came into the mayor's office the president of the City Council, Alderman D. P. Jones, a university man, then just finishing his first four-year term as representative of a high-class residence ward. His election had been a notable stride toward good citizenship in the City Council, and he had been dubbed a "silk stocking" by the ward-heeler element at the city hall. He had been a thoughtful observer of municipal conditions and had accepted the thankless office of alderman as a duty. He was a clean man of force and tact, in direct contrast with Ames in every characteristic. To him fell the heroic task of reorganizing the city government, which, so far as the Mayor could deliver the goods, had been wholly sold out to variegated vice for a year and a half. It was a repulsive situation that confronted Mr. Jones and a particularly ticklish one for a man of his known views on municipal matters. The Police Department, which was to be the exponent of his efficiency in the public mind, was morally warped and physically disorganized and top-heavy. Mr. Jones rolled up his sleeves and went to work—not to work out a two-years' policy but to conduct a four-months' course of surgery and nursing.

So chaotic were conditions that the best he hoped to do was

* Since the above was written, Dr. Ames has been tried on the indictment charging the acceptance of a \$600 bribe, convicted and sentenced to a six year term in state's prison. As the prosecuting attorney, F. H. Boardman, Esq., said in his closing address, the defense set up by Ames was: "He didn't do it, and, even if he did, he was not mentally responsible." The decision of the trial court must be affirmed by the Supreme Court before sentence becomes effective.

to restore some sort of order and efficiency so that the next mayor might begin his administration without an Ames legacy of discord and disorganization. There were some who called Jones "Puritan," and cried him down when his first act was to put in as his chief of police a lawyer who had been prominent in agitations for a new city charter and in various movements which certain interests seek to damn with the appellation "good citizen"—in quotation marks. This new Superintendent of Police, Mr. E. F. Waite, had had a year's

E. F. Waite. experience as assistant city attorney in prosecuting cases in the police court. He was already thoroughly familiar with police procedure and police rottenness, and he, too, accepted appointment as a duty. It was almost incongruous to see these two gentlemen—both active members of Plymouth Congregational Church—in the chairs so lately vacated by the avowed associates and beneficiaries of the vicious and criminal elements. There was grave consternation in many quarters, and the opinion was openly expressed that the Connecticut blue laws were to appear white in contrast with the ultra-marine morality of this emergency reform administration.

But Messrs. Jones and Waite went at the problem sensibly and tactfully. The Ames ringleaders were summarily disposed of. The graft was thoroughly rooted out; laxity in the enforcement of liquor laws was corrected; the Police Department was put on a basis of merit and its members began to work. All this was done without offense and in many instances with the coöperation of the interests affected. The city became orderly again; visiting countrymen no longer came to the city with fear and trembling, and there was a tremendous exodus of abandoned women and of men who had been fattening on ill-gotten gains.

Though the overthrow of Ames was not due to any great popular revolt, the public breathed a long sigh of relief when the emergency administration began to work out its hard-headed, clean policy so sensibly. Approval was marked, and the result of that four months of cleaning out and cleaning up will be apparent for years, if indeed, they are ever wholly ob-

literated. Such an opportunity for reform, at such a time, under such conditions and by such men has rarely if ever existed in any community, and never has any such emergency been more rationally and convincingly met.

One word more as to Dr. Ames: Throughout all his life he has been a student of the science of popularity. A physician of commanding presence and some professional skill, he has made it a rule never to collect a fee from the poor or from the labor-

The Power of Ames. ing classes. And he has administered class prejudice to his patients just as he would administer physic. If attacked in the press, he

would say to his patients: "See what they are trying to do to me because I stand by you." Only a few weeks ago when cornered in New Hampshire and forced to return to Minneapolis, he ascribed his prosecution to a mythical "pine-land ring." Forty years of this consistent posing as a man of the people has had its effect upon those who have benefited by his professional services or have known of his benevolence. Also, Dr. Ames, until he left his bondsmen in the lurch in the fall of 1902, had the reputation of taking care of his friends at any cost—both professionally and politically. With these qualities which make him a good office-getter, goes an administrative weakness and an inordinate vanity which have invariably made him a miserable office-filler. Years of posing and flattery have caused him to regard himself rather seriously as a popular idol, and, in connection with vicious associations, this self-regard has undoubtedly operated to deaden his moral sensibilities. Only the other day, when returning as a prisoner to Minneapolis, he commented upon the probability that he would be a United States senator from Minnesota some day. This contingency seems not a whit more improbable than did a fourth term as mayor appear ten years ago.

But people forgot or forgave. They believed the moral Ethiop could change his skin in a decade. They hadn't been caring much about city government, anyway; **The Moral Ethiop.** the Ames experience has jolted or shamed them into more concern about municipal matters. His election in 1900 was a glittering example of the straight-

ticket policy applied in an election where national, state, county and city candidates are all voted for at once. But the net result of his election and administration is good, for it will be many years before another man of the Ames type can be elected mayor in Minneapolis.

As to the injury to the city's reputation, it must be borne in mind that the outside world received its revelation of rottenness in Minneapolis only in connection with the news of its removal.

This is the story of what has been called "The Shame of Minneapolis." It is condensed as to detail, but not exaggerated as to facts. Minneapolis is just an average community. Barring Ames, her municipal administration has been no better nor no worse than those of other American cities.

Ames appears to have been a special agent of Providence to bring about a purification of the body politic; the festering sore of his administration has run off more vile humors than municipal surgeons could have removed in double that time, and a valuable clinical case has been added to the list available to the student of municipal maladies.

Municipal Situation in Wisconsin

By DR. AMOS PARKER WILDER

Editor "State Journal," Madison, Wisconsin

Wisconsin is a state whose every hilltop is surmounted by a schoolhouse and whose every valley is enlivened by a brewery,—every hill being girt by at least two valleys. It has a population of over two million people, to a considerable extent of German and Norwegian stock. The resources of Wisconsin are notably varied,—farming, lumbering, manufacturing, shipping and mining; and its people are uniformly prosperous—to an extent that New Englanders would scarce believe. If there be a farmhouse in Wisconsin with windows stuffed with rags, with listless women gazing over the prairie and neglected children reading a hopeless destiny in a foul pool in the barnyard, I do not know where to look for it. In city, as on farm, there is activity and progress.

Wisconsin is a state of small cities. We have one metropolis—Milwaukee—with 300,000 people—a rich, handsome, **A State of Small Cities.** prosperous city, which was once larger than the infant Chicago and supposed to outrank it in potentialities. There is a quartet of cities of 30,000 each, including the far-famed Oshkosh—which, by the way, celebrates its fiftieth anniversary this week. Of the nearly five hundred cities in the United States of over 8,000 population, Wisconsin has twenty of them. There are 84 cities of under 6,000 population, including 35 with from 1,000 to 2,000 people. And, finally, we have an organized city of 254 population by the ambitious name of Buffalo, where nearly every able-bodied man is a public servant, and where, by tacit understanding, there is no cheap, abusive talk of the evils of office-holding.

The law of city growth obtains with us, as everywhere. In the past thirty years the total urban population has multiplied

three and one-half times, while the rural increase has been but 1.4 times. Milwaukee has its rings and asphalt steals and statesmen with tall hats, hotel-corridor cordiality and bad grammar; but, for the rest, our problems are those of the small city. We, too, have aldermen with a saloon pull, who are willing to pander a little to public opinion by appropriating something to the Carnegie libraries that dot the landscape, and who deal effusively with our women, whom they style "ladies," when the latter appear in a winning bewilderment of sprightly bonnets and worried motherhood, to beseech a curfew law.

Progress of the Municipal Spirit. Wisconsin reports decided progress in the municipal spirit. The continuous assertion for a dozen years of the great association represented to-day that the problem of the city is the problem of civilization has finally arrested the attention of men.

League of Municipalities. We owe much in our state to the League of Wisconsin Municipalities, founded in 1898—one of a dozen such organizations in as many states. The eighth convention is now being arranged. At these gather over a hundred men—mainly officials of cities—and for two days they discuss issues of municipal concern and devise legislation, some of which has already been enacted. Wisconsin owes this and also the monthly publication "*The Municipality*" to Dr. S. E. Sparling, of the economics faculty of our State University,—truly "a gentleman in politics," no less difficult to rout at the polls than to divert from decent and intelligent action as a member of the aldermanic body.

Two years ago Madison had a University professor as mayor, another as city engineer, and two in the common council; and their achievements, yes, their influence with men of all classes, declare the new truth that in these days of scientific method and laboratory research, the line between theorist and so-called "practical man" is well-nigh obliterated—rather, I should say, there can no longer be a high-class practical man whose work is not the outgrowth of theory.

One effect of the State League has been to dignify municipal government, and to spread a tempting arena of ability and

ambition. Just as the names of Tom Johnson, "Golden Rule" Jones, Harrison, Low and Josiah Quincy are household words the nation over, so the names of a number of our Wisconsin mayors are familiar to Wisconsin people, largely by reason of the prominence given them by League meetings and magazine discussions. The primary election system has advantages for the man who is favorably known; and this makes it acceptable to our municipal officers eager for careers in larger fields. The growth of the non-partisan spirit in municipal elections is so familiar as to call for no mention. When one recalls that even twenty years ago it was political suicide for a man or a newspaper to jump the party traces, even in the choice of a fence-viewer or a hog-warden, we can but rejoice, and press forward with renewed zeal.

The foreign dictum that a city debt is a badge of distinction, if it stands for honestly launched municipal enterprise, is finding recognition here. Wisconsin has a 5 per cent constitutional limitation, and now that by recent adoption of the full assessment plan the authority of cities to issue bonds is practically doubled, there is honorable resistance to all proposals to restore the old basis. The increase leaves an open door for aldermanic extravagance, but it also quickens citizen responsibility. If we cannot get citizen interest by academic appeal, let us pile up a mass of local obligations and responsibilities that will fill the citizen heart with terror and compel these men of business and self-centered interests to rush to the defense of their all. Since the Chicago fire the politicians have played havoc with much; but when they lay a hand on the Fire Department of any large city, the very walls shake with indignation. There is too much at stake to permit that.

These so-called theorists of our League have established in the capitol a legislative reference and document room where are kept a full line of public documents, all bills before this Legislature, journals from both branches, and bills from many other state capitals, newspaper clippings bearing on current law-making, etc. It is amusing to note the agility with which legislators scramble for new ideas from other states, to be drafted into Wisconsin laws. Not long ago a state senator

passed away who boasted that in his eight years of legislative life he had never introduced a bill. The good die young. An appropriation this winter provides for the installing of such material, together with municipal reports, etc., in every public library of the state.

No endeavor is more urgent than to secure uniformity in municipal procedure, and this making it convenient in one city

Uniformity in Municipal Procedure. to know what is being done in another looks that way. There is a world of hazy, inaccurate allegation as to municipal experiences. One citizen stands on the curbstone and excitedly says,

"Beloit's fire brick pavements are highly satisfactory." Another citizen shakes his fist in the informant's face and says "There are no brick pavements in Beloit," and having a married sister living there, his testimony is regarded as decisive. The annual report of Beloit, which hereafter can be secured at any public library in Wisconsin, will reveal all. Who shall measure the deliberate falsehood and the greater misinformation that floods a community as soon as it proposes a garbage crematory, or a penny provident fund, or a salary for the mayor. Our municipal periodicals have done much; every system of exchange of official (not hearsay) evidence as to what communities especially in the same state, are doing, will make more coherent and enlightening the discussions of citizens of the Common Councils.

Even more important is uniform and expert accounting. It is one of the chief objects sought by our Wisconsin State League.

Uniform Accounting. The little city of Eau Claire has a system installed by a St. Paul expert, who also makes an annual inspection of the city's books.

Janesville, too, has the services of a specially trained municipal accountant. Is there not a new profession here waiting to be born—men who can fathom the perplexities of city accounts, and, from an experience earned on a hundred fields of ignorance, carelessness and bribery, tell the citizens what is the matter with their finances and point a way out? Our banks in careful hands, even with but \$25,000 invested, are probed to the bottom each quarter—how much more important these cities of ours, the smallest representing millions of property!

The Wisconsin State Tax Commission has already officially discussed this matter of uniform municipal accounting, and, but for the pressure of railroad and other tax reforms, would already have outlined a plan. It is within the power of the commission; we shall soon have good news at this point. It would be of infinite advantage if the budgets of the cities were uniform in classification, and the items of expenditure so defined as to permit of inspection. Wyoming has state inspection and auditing, and Ohio, Massachusetts and New York have a legal system to the same end.

Wisconsin is in the throes of an effort to install primary elections. This is no place to discuss the contest in which the

**Primary
Election
Reforms.** issue is so complicated with political check and countercheck as to confuse the very elect. Enough to say that the reform is dead for at

least two years in our state. We already have the direct vote for aldermen in all cities, and delegates to city conventions are also so chosen. It is not so satisfactory as if all city officers were thus chosen; but the system proves clearly that it is to citizen advantage. When there is contest the vote is very large. The most retiring, untrained citizen feels equal to casting a slip of paper on which is written or printed the name of the man he supports; whereas, if it is intervening, unknown delegates he is to vote for, who at some other place and time are to nominate, he loses interest, hope or confidence. The direct vote of the citizen for the man is no panacea—neither is the hope of salvation; but both are open doors through which all may pass. If conditions are bad, the well-disposed citizens have but to go to the polls in sufficient numbers to correct them. If they lack the numbers, they deserve bad government.

Wisconsin already has trolley lines in the Milwaukee district and in the Chippewa valley and in the Fox river valley—a chain of paper-making and other cities—but the full era of inter-urbans is about to break. Many councils are wrestling with franchise propositions, and so eager are we for the lines that rights are being freely given, and with not too much regard to time limit—forgetting that thirty-three years are a generation of human

lives. The Legislature has a bill before it which compels the submission of franchise gifts to a vote of the people. The tremendous agitation in Chicago over the iniquity of gift-franchises and long-time contracts with corporations has not been without effect on the people of the neighboring states.

Wisconsin has a general charter, with 34 cities operating it in full and many others having adopted it in part. The Charter Reform. general law needs revision, and steps are on foot to assign this work to a commission.

A compulsory general law promotes uniformity—not of function but of organization. Let cities have the same framework, the same general officers, the same length of term of office and financial plan, for thus comparisons are possible. But within this framework let each people work out its own destiny,—uniformity of organization, individuality in function and development according to the spirit of the community.

The commission to revise Milwaukee's charter worked faithfully since August last, but the conflict of local interest was so great that the measure as a whole has failed, though four special bills are well advanced which preserve some of its features. One bill retains the budget feature, providing that the same shall be cast by a board of estimate of city officials, the following year's expenditures and indebtedness being fixed except as outlay may be demanded for public health or safety by a three-fourths vote.

It is especially desirable that aldermen at large be chosen in Milwaukee; even a few of these, if chosen by primary election, would prove a conservative and enlightening force. No one who has seen one honest, sagacious, alert alderman—I confess I incline to an honest lawyer—project himself into a mass of two-by-four bar-room statesmen, and by his sober good faith, his inquiring suggestions, his bold proposals, as man to man, confounding and baffling his mates, all the time with a cordial smile, flanked by an adroit use of parliamentary tactics,—no one who has seen this pretty spectacle can fail to recall the prophecy that one shall chase a thousand and two shall put ten thousand to flight. Truly brains rule the world. I have

no words sufficient to express my admiration of a citizen of a genial nature, a facile cleverness, a passion for decency and progress in city affairs, who at great inconvenience to himself meets week after week with the intellectual pygmies and shifty featherweights whom many communities gravely style "city fathers,"—the citizen who, without losing patience and never missing an opportunity, drags out by the unaided force of character many an ordinance and squelches many an iniquity, all to make for a peaceful, honorable city and the safety and dignity of our homes.

The State League has set itself to accomplish certain things, of which compulsory two-year terms for mayors has already been attained. This is a real advance.

When annual election of aldermen is abolished where it lingers and all officers are chosen for two years or longer terms, we shall have a trained city service. The Legislature has made it optional with common councils to pay the mayor a salary,—a practice we generally approve; on the theory that while spoils-men will covet the office with or without a permitted slice of the funds, yet a salary, even if small, will prove the determining factor with many a good citizen who is asked to take the office. The amount of salary should be fixed by law, cities being divided into classes by population. Already Superior, a city of 30,000, pays its mayor \$1,500, and a number of them pay \$500. Milwaukee pays \$5,000 and Mayor "Dave" Rose has been elected a fourth time, which shows how perilous it is to draw conclusions from even sound, but too few, factors.

The telephone war wages with us, as elsewhere. A novel bill is before the Legislature. The independent companies

Telephone Wars. have multiplied; but they are confronted in some cities by the veteran Bell Company, and one of the latter's devices to win, if possible,

one of the latter's devices to ruin, if possible, the local companies is to lower the price of phones in a city where there is competition, and, it is said, in some cases to put them in free. This, of course, is trying. It means that the earnings in some cities are applied to a deficit in another until a competitor may be crushed out, when there will be a raise in telephone charges and handsome earnings in all.

the cities. The bill classifies cities by population, and provides that the same company may not charge less for phones in one city than in another of the same class. It is a unique proposal and may involve constitutional difficulties; but the independent companies are strong in the smaller cities and country and are controlling many votes in the Legislature. Without giving an opinion as to the wisdom of protecting by law one hard-pressed line of industry against a competitor, I simply suggest that it is a fresh instance of the hopelessness of peace in the conduct of quasi-public utilities, monopolistic in nature, in private hands. With the problems of the telephone, with electric plants, with gas, water and street railways, our common councils, legislatures and courts will be weighted, confused and perhaps corrupted, for a few decades more until, with a strong hand, the people solve the vexed question by claiming their own and conducting these enterprises to their own peace, convenience and profit.

Of municipal ownership generally it may be said that Wisconsin is honey-combed with sentiment. We have all read Albert Shaw's books; joint debates on the subject make every school-house a forum of oratory; and the referendum by which Chicago declared for even city operation of street cars by a vote of five to one made an impression on all the west. The so-called "Grand Rapids Plan," by which the citizens of a small Wisconsin community made themselves independent of monopoly in light and telephone service, is familiar to all readers of economic experiment. Detroit and Milwaukee are of about the same population. Detroit has a municipal plant and Milwaukee buys its light. The figures seem to show that it costs Milwaukee \$100,000 a year more for street lighting. Public lighting plants in the larger cities are not many. About 25 cities of over 20,000 population in the United States have them, but they are very common in our Wisconsin small cities. Our larger cities are hampered by the law of 1895, and a fresh effort this winter to break the chains proved futile. The law provides that in case a city desires to establish a municipal plant, a proposal must be made to the existing company. Pur-

chase is to be made, following a valuation by three referees,—one chosen by the city, one by the company, and a third chosen by these two. Thus far all is fair. But it is further provided that the value of the franchise is to be figured in—the price determined by the earning power. In other words, the citizens give the franchise and then buy it back. The consideration that leads to refusal to repeal this provision of the law is that of "innocent purchaser"; it is maintained that the owners of the stocks and bonds of these privately owned plants purchased them on the assumption that nothing socialistic should imperil them.

Nevertheless, the avalanche for public ownership is started and the people need but leadership. Whenever the people get to the polls they express themselves emphatically. In Madison—a most conservative university city—they did so, the other day. Working men are solicitous for it. They—we all—want not only cheaper service, but peace. We want an elimination of private gain as the dominant factor in public utilities. Moreover, cities are forced themselves to handle these utilities in order to divorce the private corporation from the nomination of officials and participation in local government.

One of the results of the League's work in Wisconsin, joined with a national impulse, is to increase women's activity in city betterment. The 160 affiliated clubs with **City Improvement.** 5,000 members have not been content with mere cultural diversions, but are active in establishing municipal garbage systems, in dividing their cities into sections, competing with one another in making home lots attractive; in promoting school art; installing so-called "Rest Rooms" for the convenience of farmers who come to the cities to trade; in demanding kindergarten and manual training facilities and the like. My own Madison, of 20,000 population, has four municipal bath-houses on its beautiful lakes, where men, women and children take the introductory course to godliness. The Consumer's League has been active in the present effort in Wisconsin to enact compulsory education to the age of fourteen, and to abate child labor. Wisconsin is, perhaps, the banner state in traveling libraries, and the State

Library Commission sends out, among others, selected libraries having to do exclusively with municipal questions. There is a summer library school where one hundred bright young men and women perfect themselves to take charge of the countless libraries. There are only three cities in Wisconsin, of more than 3,000 population, which have no public library, and scarcely a cross road or a lumber camp but is reached by at least a traveling library,—a box of fifty books, exchanged for a fresh box as often as desired. The library, as a civilizer,—yes, as a moral uplift,—has fired the imaginations of our people under the influence of such men as James H. Stout and others. When you and I were boys, the story of the gospel and the missionary were the only exclusive means of battling with evil after dark in a gaudy mining town, or in brightening the lives of a dull, sodden community of toil. Nevertheless, F. A. Hutchins, the inspired superintendent of the library commission, will look you in the eye and tell you stories of what a library has done in northern Wisconsin—in making men kind to their children, in checking vice, in turning a whole town to a better life, until you wonder whether religion is becoming obsolete. Rather you will recall with a new vision that ever-widening injunction, "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report . . . think on these things." Free employment bureaus of the city are multiplying, and, though socialistic, they find some justification in the suppression of many swindling private agencies. How useful public bureaus can be in "hard times" remains to be seen. The new septic tank system of sewage disposal—by which a city's discharge is cared for with the aid of "bugs that eat the stuff" (I quote the Irish caretaker in my own town; he had also committed to memory the bacteriological distinction—Greek words, I think,—between the "bugs" which feast in the open and those that take their nourishment in the seclusion of a tank)—this system necessitating but a limited area of the tile-piped land (one acre in Madison) has been adopted by a number of Wisconsin cities.

Park lands are being rapidly added to the assets of our cities, largely by gifts of individuals. These lumbering states

of the northwest are rife with the great fortunes built up, some of them, I suspect, on government pine and an opportunity; and it is no longer considered in good form to die without doing something for one's community. This is literally true. We had a graphic illustration recently of the growth of the teaching of wealth being a trust — of the decline of the idea that a man may do as he will with his own. Not long ago one of our millionaires passed away to the land where pine lands are neither given to manage nor sold at \$1.25 per acre. When the will was read it was found that the old man had left not one copper penny to anybody or anything except those of his own household. The children felt the incongruity of the situation so keenly — perhaps they so dreaded the just censure of the world,—that they gave out that it was their father's wish that a handsome sum should be devoted — we will say — to a hospital, and they drew the check for the amount.

As Theodore Roosevelt would say, this is a good thing — a downright good thing. And it surely denotes progress.

The Municipal Situation in Detroit

By SHERMAN D. CALLENDER
Attorney and Actuary, Municipal League of Detroit

Adequate presentation of the municipal situation in Detroit would require much more than the reasonable time allotted by the secretary for this article. This paper will, therefore, omit much that might be of interest, assuming knowledge of Detroit's experience with the "Pingree Potato Patch," the so-called seventeen-million-dollar street-railway controversy and other undertakings of the late Governor Hazen S. Pingree, who for over six years was a most honored and strenuous chief executive of our city.

Since those days Detroit's municipal life has afforded opportunity for few sensational newspaper headlines. We must admit that quite recently a commissioner of police of our city practically stole an entire bank, for which offense he was arrested by his subordinates, convicted in our courts, and is now serving a fifteen year sentence in one of our penal institutions. With this rather modest exception, however, we can report no such shocking disclosures as come from Minneapolis, St. Louis and other such wicked municipalities. Of course, it would be impolite to refer to the recent rather fashionable misbehavior in our sister city of Grand Rapids.

The latest reports from these places, however, indicate a healthful state of repentance, and under the stimulating ministrations of their respective prosecuting officers, **A City without Graft.** aided by an aroused public sentiment, there is reason to hope that they will soon become eligible to membership in that enviable fraternity of "cities without graft," the list of which, according to the reported statements of Mayors Hayes and Maybury, is probably limited to Baltimore and Detroit?

Whether Detroit is free from graft is not the purpose of

this paper to discuss ; that she is as well, if not better governed than most American cities I firmly believe. Reliable statistics compiled by our efficient City Controller give Detroit a most favorable showing as to efficiency and economy when compared with Cleveland, Pittsburg, Milwaukee and other cities of its class.

Our citizens are deeply interested in municipal problems, and, while our chief bane is doubtless the lethargy of the voter,

Interest in Municipal Problems. we have nevertheless made substantial progress in establishing what Joseph Story spoke of one hundred years ago as "the new and mighty empire—the empire of public opinion." This

increasing interest in local affairs has led to the organization of the Detroit Municipal League, having for its sole object, through mutual association, exchange of ideas, economy of energy and oneness of effort, to be a useful unity of influence for the betterment of our city. It has been organized on a broad, common-sense platform, and its efforts thus far have been in substantial accord with the ideas of the National Municipal League. Detroit, however, like every city, has its own peculiar conditions, and it has been the policy of the Detroit League, since its origin two years ago, to direct its efforts toward the accomplishment of the things which, under all the local circumstances, seemed immediately and practically possible rather than those remotely and theoretically desirable.

Less than two years ago the Detroit organization adopted a platform consisting of the following specific objects, for which its special effort was pledged :

First. A primary election law for Detroit and Wayne county, which shall enable the voters of all political parties or political organizations to make nominations, by a direct vote, with provisions as to secrecy and other safeguards as efficient as those now provided in the Australian ballot system.

Second. Such constitutional amendment and legislative enactments as will give the City of Detroit permanent control of its internal affairs, with power to decide upon levies and assessments for local taxes, and including authority to own and

operate public utilities if the people so decide by a popular vote.

Third. Such amendment of the election law applicable to Detroit as shall provide for the election of all city officials at the regular biennial April election required by the Constitution, thus separating city elections from state and national elections and affording opportunity for settling municipal issues on their merits.

Fourth. Such amendment of the city charter as shall provide civil-service rules, based on merit, applicable to the subordinate administrative service in the City Government, with efficient means for the enforcement of such rules.

Fifth. The adoption and maintenance of a rule of procedure by the Common Council of this city, requiring in substance that any proposed ordinance granting, amending or renewing a franchise for a public utility which may have passed its third reading, shall, before its final passage, lie on the table thirty days from and after the date of its third reading; and, if within that time a petition signed by ten members of the Common Council or 5 per cent of the qualified voters of the city be filed with the City Clerk, asking that such ordinance be submitted to a vote of the people, it shall be so submitted at the next regular election; and, if a majority of votes cast at said election favor its passage, it shall then be put upon its final passage by the Common Council.

Concerning each of these propositions, candidates for the Legislature and Common Council were interrogated by the League previous to the election last fall. Their respective positions were ascertained and made public, and, to a considerable extent, each of these propositions was made an issue in the campaign.

With reference to the first proposition for a new primary election law for Detroit and Wayne county, the Municipal Primary Elec- League had months before appointed a Special tion Reform. Committee of nine citizens to prepare a bill. This Committee investigated the laws lately adopted in other cities, and prepared a measure which we believe contained the best features of them all. It was published and widely circulated. The candidates for the Legislature who had worked for primary election reform two years ago were reelected by large majorities, and those who had been

traitors to the reform were defeated for nomination by new men known to be favorable.

After election, the measure drafted by the committee of the League was approved by the Detroit legislative delegation.

Provisions of Detroit Law. It was introduced in the Legislature and became a law in time for its first trial at the primaries preceding the recent April election.

The results were very satisfactory. A very much larger percentage of the voters participated at the primaries than under the old convention system. Briefly stated, the law provides for nomination by a direct vote for all candidates for offices in Detroit and Wayne county. Names of all candidates are printed on one blanket ballot, each party being in a separate column. Voters are limited to their respective party columns, but the choice of party affiliation is secret. The primaries continue two days, which are the same as days for registration, and are conducted by the regular non-partisan Board of Registration in each precinct. Practically the same rules prevail as to printing and marking of ballots, canvassing, returns, etc., as at regular elections. Further trial may show minor defects, but the principle of direct nominations is established in Detroit, and it is safe to say that we shall not soon go back to the old convention plan.

Charter Reform. The present general charter of Detroit was adopted as far back as 1883. Since that time there has scarcely been a session of the State Legislature which has not amended or added to this charter. It has been continually tinkered and changed until it has now become such a patchwork of inconsistencies as to occasion constant friction and fruitless litigation. To correct this condition, the Common Council last fall appropriated \$1,000 to pay the corporation counsel to draft a new charter for submission to the State Legislature. The charter was drafted by Hon. Timothy E. Tarsney, one of our ablest attorneys, present corporation counsel. It contains some very excellent features, but a Republican legislative delegation and a Republican Common Council have been quick to discern a real or imaginary party advantage in a charter drawn by

a Democratic corporation counsel. The city is therefore in the rather unfortunate position of having paid \$1,000 for a charter it does not want; and it seems to be the accepted policy to continue to tinker the old rather than attempt the new.

There is, however, a prospect that some of the best features of the new charter will be enacted as separate measures. One

Civil Service Measure. of the most important is the chapter providing for a Municipal Civil Service Commission.

This chapter, containing some of the best features of the Massachusetts law on that subject, has been re-written by a committee of the Municipal League, and, with some features of the Chicago law incorporated, has been introduced in the Legislature as a separate bill. In this present form, it was approved in caucus by a majority of the Detroit legislative delegation and by a unanimous vote of the Common Council. With a referendum clause it was passed by the House of Representatives, but killed in Committee of the Senate in spite of the Detroit senators.

One other feature of the "thousand dollar" charter may be enacted by the Legislature as a separate measure. It is the chapter which makes the city's fiscal year begin May 1 instead of January 1, and provides for holding municipal elections in April, separate and distinct from state and national elections. Until two years ago our municipal elections were held in November in off-years, that is, when neither national nor general state officers were elected. The same Republican Legislature that turned down the Primary Election Bill two years ago and enacted amendments of the Detroit charter manifestly opposed to any reasonable doctrine of home rule,—one of which measures was declared by our Supreme Court unconstitutional,—this same Legislature abolished off-year municipal elections in Detroit and provided for biennial city elections at the same time, and in connection with state and national elections. This was done for the ostensible purpose of economy, but for the *real* purpose of securing that narrow party advantage which comes from merging municipal with state and national elections in a commonwealth so overwhelmingly Republican that a well-

known statesman has said, "A yellow dog could carry it if nominated on the Republican ticket."

The writer of this article is a Republican and has no quarrel with those who believe in thorough party organization, so long

Need for Separate Municipal Elections. as the party conducts municipal elections on a municipal platform and manages the city's business with sole reference to the city's welfare instead of making that welfare subordinate to the dictates of state and national politicians who desire to use the municipal patronage for personal and selfish advancement. The legislation of two years ago on this subject was a distinct step backward for our city, and some of those who then voted for the measure in the Legislature have since acknowledged that it was a grave mistake. It was opposed by the Detroit Municipal League at that time, and the correction of the error is now one of the planks of the League's platform. A skeleton bill similar to the chapter on that subject in the "thousand dollar" charter was before the Legislature, but has been smothered in Committee of the House.

The most popular phrase in Detroit's municipal life to-day is "Home Rule." No man would think of running for any office in Detroit without making "Home Rule" **Home Rule.** the first plank of his platform. Everyone favors it. Ask almost any man you meet if he is for it, and he will answer "Yes," with such unctious assurance that you almost feel you have committed a high crime for having assumed to ask such a question. Investigate further and you will find here almost as many definitions of "Home Rule" as there are colors to the rainbow. Since an older and abler member of the Detroit bar is on the program for treatment of this subject, I will not discuss it further than to express the opinion that with us it is much more a question of constitutional amendment than of legislative action.

There is before our State Legislature, at the present time, a resolution proposing a constitutional amendment, introduced and strongly advocated by Representative Joseph Greusel, of this city, which reads as follows:

SEC. 50. The Legislature may authorize incorporated cities to construct, acquire by purchase or condemnation, maintain and operate street railways within their corporate limits, but no act to establish municipal railways in any incorporated city shall become operative until it shall be approved by a majority of the electors of said city voting thereon at a regular election or a special election called therefor."

This subject is of vital importance to Detroit, for the reason that most of our street railway franchises expire in about six years. With our city powerless, under our Supreme Court decisions, to own or operate street railways, the United Railway Company will be in a position to practically dictate the terms of the new franchise? It is certain that the people will not get along without street-car service, and if, when the present franchise expires, another one acceptable to the company is not granted, is it unreasonable to suppose that the company would continue to run its cars and collect its customary fare, franchise or no franchise? The public would demand service and the company would continue to furnish it at its own terms, or at least upon such terms as the courts might decide to be reasonable after protracted litigation. The Michigan Telephone Company has been doing business in Detroit for years with no franchise whatever from the city. With the city powerless in the matter of street railways, would not the railway company do the same? To say that a franchise could be granted to a competing company is no answer to the argument, for that would be both impracticable and economically wasteful.

It should be observed that Mr. Greusel's resolution very carefully safeguards against any hasty adoption of a policy of municipal operation or ownership. It simply enables the Legislature to authorize the city to take action, but "no act to establish municipal railways shall become operative until approved by a majority of the electors of the city." It is a question of power, not of policy, and many of our citizens who most strongly advocate giving the city the *power* would be the last to adopt the doubtful *policy* of municipal ownership. They believe, and I agree

with them, that having the power the city is in a position to make a much more advantageous contract for service with a private corporation.

This proposition has been repeatedly advocated both by Mayor Maybury and his predecessor, as well as by the Common Council. It has received general support from the local press; and has been endorsed by the Detroit Municipal League and other reform organizations. That the vast majority of the people of Detroit favor granting this authority, I think there is little doubt. Whether the majority would favor city ownership, or even operation, is an entirely different proposition, and would doubtless depend very much on whether a reasonably advantageous contract could be made with a private company. Having been given the *authority*, it is believed that the *occasion* for exercising it would be many times diminished. The outcome before our present Legislature is being watched with much interest. Whatever action may be taken by the Legislature, the people of Detroit are awake to the situation; and it is not probable that valuable long-term franchises, for any purpose, will be hastily given away by our Common Council in the near future.

The present charter has no provisions for a referendum, but the Common Council has adopted, at the request of the Detroit Municipal League, substantially the last plank of the League's platform. It was adopted about a year ago, and now appears as 37a of the Rules of Procedure of the Council. It reads as follows:

"Every ordinance granting, amending or renewing a franchise for a public utility, which may have passed its third reading, shall, before its final passage, lie on the table thirty (30) days from and after the date of said reading; and if within that time a petition signed by eighteen members of the Common Council, or five per cent of the qualified voters of the city, as shown by the last preceding registration, be filed with the City Clerk, asking that such ordinance be submitted to a vote of the qualified voters of the city, it shall be so submitted at the next regular election, and, if a majority of votes cast at said elec-

**Rule of
Procedure.**

tion favors its passage, it shall then be put upon the final passage."

Of course a vote of the people under this rule is only advisory, and the Council may suspend the rule by a two-thirds vote. The probability of such action, however, is slight. When any franchise has passed its third reading, there is ample opportunity, under the rule, for the people to demand a referendum within the thirty days if the franchise is objectionable. This rule has already proven a barrier to hasty franchise legislation, and, if its provisions are followed, only definite and intelligible propositions will be referred to the popular vote, and then only upon petition.

There is a local tendency just at present to refer all sorts of abstract and unintelligible propositions to the electors. It is foolish questions submitted. the popular plan of evading official responsibility. At the recent April election no fewer than nine such local propositions appeared on the ballot. Following is a sample of what the voters were asked to answer by a "Yes" or "No."

"Shall the Common Council grant a franchise to a private corporation for heating and lighting, or either, from a central plant or plants, to furnish steam or hot water?

"Shall the Controller, Corporation Counsel, City Engineer and Receiver of Taxes be elected, instead of appointed, as at the present?

"Is there any need for radical changes in the present city charter?

"Shall the charter be so amended as to confer upon the City of Detroit the power of local legislation?"

The Detroit Municipal League protested to the Common Council against the submission of such abstract questions; but the plan was popular with the politicians, and Meaning of Vote. the "dear people" had to take their medicine. There was an occasional wry face at the prospect of such a plunge in the dark, and the results indicate that the minds of the voters worked in "mysterious ways,"—if indeed they worked at all.

Since election, members of the Common Council and other

citizens have been engaged in the rather profitless pastime of trying to determine what, if anything, the voters meant by their action. Five thousand eight hundred and eighteen voters said "Yes" to the question, "Is there any need of a radical amendment to the city charter?" and four thousand eight hundred and seventy-two said "No" to the same question. Of what earthly value is this vote to any one? How many of those ten thousand voters knew what they were voting on? "Radical changes" might mean almost anything. The same is true with reference to the question, "Shall the charter be so amended as to confer upon the City of Detroit the power of local legislation?" which was carried by about seven thousand majority. How many of the voters could define what they mean by local legislation? and what a medley of definitions there would be from the twelve thousand who voted on this question.

The proposition for a lighting or heating franchise was also a "double-header" upon which a "Yes" or "No" vote could mean nothing, because the terms of the franchise were unknown to the voters. Was it a franchise for heating or lighting, or both? Was it for five years or fifty years? Were the rates fixed, or could any charge be made? These were unknown quantities which made intelligent voting impossible. The Municipal League and other reform organizations urged voting, if at all, against all such abstract questions on the theory that to vote "Yes" in the dark might result in favoring a very undesirable proposition. The total result has afforded some amusement for members of the Common Council, considerable bother for the electors, and little or no intelligent direction or information for any one.

Detroit furnishes a rather romantic chapter of late experiences with competing telephone companies, but time will not permit discussion in this paper. A bill providing for an Art Commission in Detroit, similar to that provided in the charter of New York, has been advocated by the Municipal League, indorsed by the Common Council, passed by the House of Representatives and smothered in Senate Committee in spite of united request

of all the senators from Detroit. There have been several other desirable amendments in our charter, having for their purpose the simplifying and unifying of the city's financial system.

Such, in outline, is our municipal situation. Recent results are somewhat encouraging to those who have contributed unselfishly of time and money for the city's betterment.

Encouragement. Much has been accomplished, more is confidently expected. The local League has become recognized as a considerable factor in the better government of the city. Our effort has been along broad and practical lines. It is not a commercial body. We take no action respecting state and national politics. Economy and efficiency in local government is the scope of the Detroit League's effort. Thus far we have prevented the organization being led astray by that unreasoning fanaticism which is generally a hindrance rather than a help to the cause of better government. It has been our purpose to arouse the candid, honest, fair-minded citizen to an active realization that good municipal government, here and everywhere, is to be obtained only as a result of patient, intelligent and persistent effort by the masses of the people. We believe in primary-election reform, civil-service laws, and the most wise and efficient adjustment of the city charter; but we believe also that whatever may be the laws, however nicely may be adjusted the provisions of the charter, however efficient and scientific may be the system, it will work poorly and produce miserable results unless those in charge are honest and capable, and are supported by a thoughtful, intelligent and loyal constituency.

The Municipal Situation in Chicago

By **FRANK H. SCOTT, Esq.**,

Vice-president, Municipal Voters' League of Chicago

The program for this annual meeting of the National Municipal League, includes, in addition to this, two papers concerning Chicago, the topic of the one being "Chicago City Administration," and that of the other "Chicago Accounting Reform." Therefore this paper will be somewhat general in its nature, its main purpose being to treat of the attitude of the citizens toward reform in governmental methods, and the efforts being put forth by individuals and organizations to that end.

To write a paper concerning Chicago, without at the beginning referring to its wretched pavements, muddy or dusty streets, and smoke-burdened air, would be revolutionary. Not being so minded, it is sufficient to say that there has been no material improvement in these particulars; that such change as has taken place has been in the direction of more mud, and less pavement.

The failure of the City Government to perform its functions in the lines these conditions indicate, is due in large part to inadequate revenues; but a considerable factor contributing to the existing situation has been the apparent indifference of its present chief executive to the physical well-being of the city.

The conventional order is to treat next of the lawlessness which is said to prevail,—one recent, and, on the whole, friendly observer, likening it to that of a frontier town. In this judgment I am unable to concur. It suggests a condition which does not in fact exist, and does the city gross injustice. Vice and crime are here, as they are in every large community, and they have their haunts. But one may go about following his ordinary pursuits, year after year, and find no evidence that lawlessness exists in an exceptional degree.

Having bowed to precedents in referring to smoke, dirt and bad pavements, I pass on to matters of much greater significance. For those are in great part temporary ills, the inconvenience and burden of which fall upon the people of the city, and which, it may reasonably be expected, will be in a measure remedied in the not distant future. But there is in the municipal situation of Chicago an element which concerns not merely its own inhabitants, and the casual visitor, but city dwellers generally. I refer to a marked and persistent impulse toward good government, which shall also be Democratic government. The foundation of misrule in large cities is the apathy and indifference of their citizens. The problem now being worked out in Chicago is, how far a wide and genuine desire for good and democratic government, expressing itself in positive action, can be effective, as against the limitations of a body of laws unsuited to existing conditions, an unsympathetic legislature, the opposition of partisan machines, and a settled order of things which is the fruit of years of misrule.

Of the existence of such widely prevalent desire there is no room whatever for doubt. It voices itself in private conversations, public meetings and the daily press. It makes itself felt in the organization and action of numerous leagues and

Desire for Improvement. clubs, having separate fields but all working to the same general end, and it is expressed most effectively in independent action at the polls.

The methods adopted are, for the most part, simple and practical, as I shall take occasion to illustrate hereafter. It is a fair statement that a very large number of the professional, business and working men of Chicago have come to consider that good government is a matter of their personal concern, just as are their own private enterprises, and that they are applying business methods in their efforts to obtain it.

This has not all come about over night, nor is this disposition toward public affairs spasmodic. It is nearly a decade since the Civil Service law was yielded by the legislature at the demand of the people. The desire for better methods of government then evidenced has been constantly growing. The natural inquiry is, what have been the results? A candid

answer would be, that, compared to what remains to be done, only a fair beginning has been made. But considering the things achieved, by themselves, or by relation to former conditions, we have gone far. I shall not weary you with details of matters with which you are familiar, but refer generally to what these achievements have been, and what endeavors are now being exerted.

Prior to 1895, in every branch of the city's government, except the Fire Department, the spoils system obtained without check or qualification. To the practical politician the merit system was a joke, and its advocates harmless lunatics. The law itself, after its passage, was likewise treated as a joke, and early in its history a hostile administration confidently devised methods for rendering it ineffective. The Corporation Counsel of Chicago, charged with the duty of defending the law, appeared in the courts as attorney for the Chief of Police, supporting the contention that the law was unconstitutional. Beaten at all points in that effort, the City Council was called upon to create exemptions by conferring the title "head of department" upon clerks, and to abolish offices only to recreate them under new names. Again there was litigation in which the public's servants unsuccessfully opposed a law adopted by the public by an overwhelming majority.

One childish scheme after another was devised, to be defeated by an alert public sentiment acting along practical lines. There is no stupidity comparable with that of the self-satisfied practical politician. The litigation is ended. The net result is a great service done to the law by its blundering enemies. They have succeeded in intrenching it behind a body of judicial decisions, which guarantee its integrity and leave no doubt as to its proper interpretation in any material point.

In practical application, the law has likewise had a hard life; the details of its maltreatment will serve no good purpose at this time. It will be sufficient to refer to the flagrant abuse which was made of the sixty-day clause, under cover of which a large number of employees were retained in office without examination; and I mention that only in order to call attention

to the fact that among nearly ten thousand employees, excepting thirteen attendants at the isolation hospital, there is today but one "sixty-day" man in the service of the city.

The Board of Civil Service Commissioners, for the past few years, have been friends of the merit system, and the provisions of the law as to entrance upon and retention in the service are fairly enforced. No candidate for public office would dare oppose it.

This reference to the Civil Service law is made, not so much to give you information concerning its working, but to illustrate the spirit of Chicago in municipal matters. It was passed because of the insistence of the friends of the system. It contained a provision for submission to the people, and a thoroughly organized educational campaign secured its adoption by an overwhelming majority. Thus it was shown that, on a clearly defined issue between good methods of government and bad methods, the people could be trusted. After its adoption it was not left to work out its own salvation, but was constantly watched over, and zealously defended against every attack.

The most valuable lesson to be drawn from the history of this act seems to me to lie in the demonstration that a good law, backed by public sentiment, and guarded by a reasonable degree of watchfulness, may be made to accomplish its purpose, even against a hostile or indifferent administration.

The attempt to pass the Humphrey bill, and the subsequent enactment by the State Legislature in 1897 of the Allen bill, permitting extensions of street-car franchises for fifty instead of twenty years, have had a powerful influence in developing the peculiar traction situation which exists in Chicago, and which, of all municipal questions, is receiving most attention from the people. These acts evoked an overwhelming demonstration of the keen interest of the citizens in public affairs, and their determination that their rights should not be sold at the State Capital; and in it there was a strong note of protest against state control over purely local matters. Chicago carried the agitation throughout the state. Of the one hundred members in House and Senate who voted for the Allen bill, but twenty-two were returned at

Street Railway Franchises.

the next election. The law was repealed at the following session with but one dissenting vote. But with its repeal public interest in the traction question did not end. It has remained intense and has been far-reaching in results. The principal franchises of the traction companies are to expire July 30, 1903. That the campaign at Springfield in behalf of the bills had been one of corrupt methods admitted of no doubt, and it was equally certain that attempts had been made to buy favorable franchises from the City Council. As a result of that stirring of public sentiment, the traction companies, on the eve of the expiration of their franchises, find themselves in a unique and embarrassing situation. The people have studied the traction question. It has been the dominant factor in every municipal election in the last eight years, the fitness of candidates being tested by reference to their views upon it. In his paper upon "The Street Railway Situation in Chicago" read before this League at its last annual meeting, Mr. George C. Sykes, then secretary of the Committee on Local Transportation of the Chicago City Council, gave you a clear statement of the situation up to that time. Since then the Transportation Committee has held open meetings, giving private citizens and representatives of various clubs and other organizations the opportunity to discuss methods of settlement; it has studied systems in use in different cities, has taken expert advice, and arrived at a conclusion as to what shall be considered essential in any franchise which may be granted.

The representatives of the Union Traction Company came from the east some two months since, to take up the question of new franchises. They found a community having well-formed ideas as to the lines upon which alone settlement could be effected, and a City Council a large majority of whose members were thoroughly representative of the people. The negotiations were practically with the public. Conferences between the attorneys of the several lines and the Traction Committee of the City Council were held with open doors. The members of the Committee entered upon the negotiations with the benefit of some years of study of street-railway questions, the reports and advice of an able engineer retained to that end, and with a

comprehensive knowledge of the basis of the stock issues and of the financial condition of the companies.

It is not my purpose to go into detail as to the positions assumed by either side; and I refer to it in order again to illustrate the spirit of the people with reference to Transportation Problem. municipal affairs, and the representative character of the present City Council. The negotiations ended abruptly, for the time, upon the refusal of the companies to surrender all claim of right under the so-called "ninety-nine" year act, which, if valid, would extend the franchises, as to certain lines, for a half century longer. It is anticipated that they will soon be resumed. Indeed the representatives of the eastern owners of the Union Traction Company are, at this writing, on the ground, presumably to reopen negotiations. No franchise will be granted that does not provide for a limited term, the right of the city at its election to take over the property after a fixed period, at the appraised value of the tangible assets, a fair measure of compensation to the city, assurances of the best possible service, and a distinct waiver of all rights under the ninety-nine year act. Any grant which may be made will probably be conditioned upon a majority vote in its favor, at a special election to be called for that purpose, upon petition of 10 per cent of the voters, to be filed within sixty days after the passage of the ordinance.

There has grown up in Chicago a marked and increasing sentiment favoring municipal ownership of public utilities, and particularly of street-railway lines. While it is generally recognized that the time is not yet ripe, yet steps are being taken to make such ownership possible when the conditions will permit.

A bill entitled "An Act to Authorize Cities to Own and Operate Street Railways" and commonly known as the "Mueller Bill," is pending in the Legislature, having passed the Senate. Its treatment by the Committee of the House, to which it was referred, as well as the manner of its reference, have raised a storm of protest which is now raging, and which recalls the agitation growing out of the passage of the Allen bill. The bill is an

enabling act, conferring on every city the power to own, acquire and operate street railways, to lease them for any period not longer than twenty years, and to incorporate in any grant to a private company of the right to construct or operate street railways a reservation of the right on the part of the city to take over such railways, at or before the expiration of the grant, upon such terms and conditions as may be stipulated in the grant. It is provided that for the purpose of acquiring street railways, or for their equipment, any city may borrow money and issue its negotiable bonds therefor. Until the Constitution of the State shall have been amended, this power would be ineffectual, so far as Chicago is concerned, since it may not add to its existing bonded debt; therefore, the law contains a further provision that in lieu of bonds, any city may issue interest-bearing certificates to be known as "street-railway certificates," payable out of the income to be derived from the property for which they are issued, and to be secured by mortgage upon such property. Any such mortgage may grant the right to maintain and operate the street-railway properties for a period not exceeding twenty years from the date they may come into the possession of any person or corporation as the result of foreclosure proceedings. The proposed act is not to be in force in any city until it shall first have been submitted to the electors of such city, and approved by a majority of those voting thereon; a submission of any proposition to operate street railways is required, and the affirmative vote of three-fifths of those voting thereon is necessary, before any city shall proceed to operate street railways; opportunity is given for the like submission of any franchise extending for a longer period than five years. When this bill came to the House from the Senate, it was sent to a hostile committee, by the speaker's gavel, roll-call being denied. From that committee there has been reported a bill, which has been characterized as an "enabling bill which does not enable." True, in its enacting clause, it purports to grant to cities power to own and operate railways; but all the carefully devised provisions of the Mueller bill for making that grant effective are omitted. By its terms, the rights of a company buying under

foreclosure, to operate the property, is limited to a period of three years ; thereby rendering the proposed street-railway certificates valueless, and leaving the city — which is powerless to issue bonds — no means of either purchasing or constructing. The Committee bill also contains such referendum provisions as seem to defeat the purpose for which enabling legislation was asked by Chicago. Apparently, the intention is to pass this act without permitting amendment. If that shall be accomplished, the settlement of the traction question, now so urgent, may be seriously hindered ; for the Mayor has consistently maintained the position that he will permit no street-railway franchise to be granted until an enabling act shall have been passed. At this writing, committees which include the Mayor, his late rival in the election just held, business men, lawyers, clergymen and aldermen, are at Springfield, working vigorously for the passage of the Mueller bill. Its friends fear only the speaker's gavel. Under the constitution, it is the **Unconstitutional Usurpation.** duty of that official to grant a roll-call at the request of five members, but hitherto he has frequently violated that law. Incidental to this situation, and in anticipation that he will here again show himself a law breaker, a petition signed by sixty-seven members of the House, another by citizens, and an ordinance passed by the unanimous vote of the City Council of Chicago, all respectfully pray the speaker to obey the Constitution, and grant roll-calls on this enabling act, and that the yeas and nays may be taken.

Because of the important part that organization has played in aiding to bring about the present traction situation, any reference thereto leads to a consideration of the nature and operations of the Municipal Voters' League. That it has exerted a powerful influence in the work of redeeming the Common Council of Chicago, is quite widely known. In a New York paper it has recently been referred to as "The Triumphant Municipal Voters' League," and not without reason. Eight years ago the Common Council of Chicago was completely controlled by, and for the most part composed of, bribe-seekers and black-mailers, constituting a thoroughly organized and

seemingly firmly established gang of plunderers of corporations
Chicago's and of the public. Mr. Edwin Burritt Smith
Council. has truly described the Council in power in 1895
in the following language: "In the preceding
year, the Council had reached its final stage of open and shame-
less corruption. Some fifty-eight of its sixty-eight members
were organized into a "gang" for public and corporate plunder.
Within the year it granted to public service corporations and
blackmailing syndicates, composed in most part of its own
members, six great franchises of untold value, in shameless
disregard of the public protest and the Mayor's veto. The
City Council was in open alliance with the corrupt forces that
have so long made municipal misrule a reproach to the Ameri-
can name. Within a few years the principal franchises of the
traction companies of the city were to expire. Plans to secure
renewals in utter disregard of public rights were already
laid."

The field which these aldermen exploited for their profit
was a rich one, for the city's legislative body had, and retains,
many of those large powers which are incident to democratic
government. The only method of obtaining any grant, large
or small, was by buying the aldermen; and there was nothing
belonging to the people that they were not ready to sell. The
partisan caucuses which controlled absolutely the organization
of the Council selected the most brazen and corrupt of their
number as chairmen of the important committees. The
political machines had defeated all efforts at reform; the situa-
tion seemed hopeless.

The Municipal Voters' League entered the field in 1896. It
did not undertake to accomplish reforms by legislation. Its
founders believed in home rule, were of opinion that the large
powers vested in the Council should not be curtailed, and that
the true remedy for the grievous ills was to make the Council
Municipal really representative of the people. To that
Voters' League. end it avowed its purpose to secure the election
of "aggressively honest men" to the Council;
and employed surprisingly simple methods to effect its aim.
Eight municipal campaigns have been fought since it became a

factor. The once powerful gang has been completely overthrown, but three of its fifty-eight members remaining in the Council, and they are wholly discredited and without influence. In its place there is a Council of an unusually high average in character and intelligence, fifty-three of whose seventy members can fairly be relied on to be faithful to the interests of the people they represent. Each year the standard is being raised. To become an alderman is an honorable ambition, and young men of education, standing and ability are aspirants for the position. A very remarkable fact is that in the organization of the Council's committees party affiliations have no place. This regeneration is by no means the full measure of the results achieved in those campaigns. The interest of the people in the welfare of the city has been greatly stimulated, with the necessary consequence of a large increase of the independent vote at municipal elections.

The rather formidable title of the League, and the influence attributed to it, are calculated to suggest to the uninformed an extensive organization quite different from that which in fact exists. The formal organization consists only of a self-perpetuating committee of nine members, and a finance committee of its selection. It makes no reports, except to the public. A considerable sum of money is required for its support, as will later appear from a brief outline of its methods, and for this it relies wholly on voluntary subscriptions. No candidate for the council is permitted to contribute, and no member of the committee receives any money for his services, or his personal expenses. It is also a rule that no member of the committee may become a candidate for any office until his connection with it has been severed for at least a year. Headquarters are kept open the year round, and a staff of competent assistants is employed. In the beginning there was somewhat more of machinery, which contributed nothing, however, to efficiency, and accordingly was tacitly abandoned. But while this is all there is of form, it is not this committee which is the League, entitled to be called Triumphant. The Committee is an extraordinarily efficient agent of the organized sentiment of the large majority of the citizens in favor of better municipal condi-

tions. In substance, the League is composed of all those who approve of the committee's methods, and are guided by its recommendations in casting their votes. Its victories are the people's victories.

Let me emphasize the fact that the success of the League is proof of, and has been wholly due to, the wide-spread and sincere desire of the citizens for good government.
Successful Work. Its plan and methods assumed the existence of such a desire, and were conceived and adopted solely with a view to aiding that desire to effective expression and realization.

The belief of its founders was that the most feasible method of reforming the Council was to establish a non-partisan organization whose motives could not be questioned, which should furnish, as concisely as possible, exact knowledge of the character of the candidates for seats therein, relying for results upon the intelligence, honesty and independence of the voters. Accordingly, in its earlier campaigns its efforts were directed almost wholly to gathering and giving out such information, together with its recommendations based thereon. This work was supplemented to some extent by promoting the candidacy of independents, in wards where both regular party candidates were condemned. The response of the voters was immediate. As has been said, the Council of 1895 contained some fifty-eight corrupt aldermen out of a membership of sixty-eight. The terms of one-half of the members expire each year. In 1896, after the first campaign in which the League took part, the number of members believed to be dishonest was forty-six, to twenty-two believed to be honest. Many of the dishonest were holdovers. In 1897 it was forty-five to twenty-three; in 1898, forty-one to twenty-seven; in 1899, the majority was turned to the other side, there being forty-two classed as honest and twenty-eight as dishonest, and the Council has since had an honest majority, fifty-three of the present members, out of seventy, having been endorsed by the League, and not all the remaining seventeen condemned by it.

But with success there came to the League, as a natural consequence, a much wider range of activities and a greater burden

of duties. In two-thirds of the wards its expression of preference between candidates is almost controlling, and against its condemnation a candidate has little chance of success. In most of the remaining wards its action is a factor to be very seriously reckoned with. Therefore, the leaders of both parties in the various wards confer as to the fitness of candidates with the officers of the League, before nominations are made, and many candidates themselves submit for its consideration their records and qualifications for office.

The headquarters of the League are kept open through the year. They are centrally located, and consist of a reception-room, offices for the secretary and his assistant, **Activities.** and a larger room for the corps of investigators and stenographers. There is also a vault, in which are filed the records of aldermen and candidates. A capable and thoroughly informed agent of the League attends each meeting of the council and of its important committees. For something more than two months preceding each annual spring election, the president of the League, now Mr. Charles R. Crane, the executive head of a very extensive manufacturing industry, and its secretary, Mr. Walter L. Fisher, a lawyer of high standing and in large practice, are to be found the greater portion of their time, at League headquarters, preparing for, and later directing, the campaign. The Executive Committee is frequently called in session, but the great burden falls upon these two executive officers. The first work is the preparation of a full report on the aldermen whose terms are about to expire. In its final form this report is the work of the full committee. Great care is used to do exact justice,

Methods. but no consideration is allowed to prevent the making of such a statement in each case as the man's record deserves. The aldermen and the people expect, and look with interest for, the preliminary bulletin, and not infrequently some alderman offers his assistance in its preparation so far as it concerns his individual case. A very interesting evidence of the value attached to the League's utterances is afforded by dispassionate interviews which often occur between its officers and aldermen, who, knowing that their records

will be condemned, and not questioning the propriety of the general attitude of the League toward them, yet seek to procure some mitigation or qualification of the certain condemnation.

The columns of the most influential daily papers are open to the League, and its preliminary report, special bulletins and final report have wide circulation by this means, **Newspaper Support.** certain papers giving up columns of valuable space to printing the long reports unabridged.

Indeed the League's success has been largely due to the generous and vigorous support accorded it by the press, both in news and editorial columns. It is well understood that it is very careful in its investigations, certain as to the truth of its statements concerning candidates, and prepared to defend and justify them whenever called upon to do so. Therefore, the papers take the matter it furnishes for publication with entire confidence. And let me say here that the leading newspapers of Chicago, with one exception, disregard party lines in aldermanic elections. Indeed, the press is independent to a remarkable degree in all political matters. For some weeks before nominations are made, business is very active at the League headquarters. Men come there avowed candidates, and, after an interview with the secretary, throw away all ambition. Politicians from the wards call to present for the judgment of the League the names of persons under consideration as prospective nominees; it is not unusual that the decision is adverse, the name withdrawn, and others substituted. Investigators are bringing in reports, and active work is being done toward putting an independent candidate in the field, should it happen in any ward that neither party present a fit candidate. An incident of the campaign just closed may serve to illustrate the League's influence in the selection of candidates, as well as the confidence of the politicians in its fairness. It happened that the delegates in a certain ward convention were equally divided between two candidates. Many ballots were taken, each resulting in a tie. It was then moved that the decision between the two candidates be referred to the Central Committee of the party, and upon this the delegates were equally divided. Then followed a motion to submit the matter to the League,

the decision of its secretary to be final ; and this was carried unanimously. The candidates went together to Mr. Fisher, informed him of the situation, and were told by him that, in asking his decision, they must take into account the fact that the League would probably prefer to either, the nominee of the opposing party, because of his good record in the Council. This was entirely satisfactory. A choice was made between the two, and the man thus selected was unanimously nominated.

When the nominations have been made, there is submitted to each candidate who is not considered hopelessly bad, the League platform. This is a pledge, not to the League, but to the people. In matters of policy as to which men may honestly differ, it asks no expression from candidates, except as to certain controlling questions, upon which the general attitude of the community is well defined, and as to these it expects a statement of the candidate's views. In this way its influence has been felt in a marked degree in making the Council representative of the views of the people as to the proper settlement of the traction problem. In addition to an expression of belief in non-partisan organization of the Council on the basis of integrity and fitness, in the enforcement of the civil-service law, in keeping the appropriations within the revenues, and in reserving the opportunity for municipal ownership in all franchises for public utilities, the signer of the platform commits himself to a settlement of traction questions along the lines of the proposed ordinance above referred to. This year the League added a declaration favoring the affording of an opportunity for the application of the referendum to the settlement of all important policies with reference to public utilities. The candidate may sign, modify, or refuse to sign the platform, without thereby assuring either the League's support or its condemnation. The people are informed of his action in regard to it by the reports.

A very active part is taken in the campaign itself. The officers are constantly in touch with the condition of the fight in each ward, counseling with the leaders, running down through agents and exposing baseless attacks upon candidates

recommended by the League, issuing special bulletins when required, and, when there is need, furnishing money to defray legitimate expenses. Meanwhile the work of preparing the final bulletin, which is usually issued three or four days before election, is going forward, and for the last two weeks of the campaign the Executive Committee is in daily session. The utmost care is used, not only in stating facts as to candidates, but in stating them in such language as will be most effective, taking into account the character of the population to be reached. The report is read aloud again and again, to make certain that each allegation can be justified. If question is raised, the files are consulted, the investigators called in, and at times it happens that the candidate under immediate consideration is summoned and examined very directly and without any beating about the bush. There is no difficulty in securing the attendance of any man hoping for election in a decent ward. Indeed, on one occasion the entire membership of a convention came in a body to League headquarters to refute charges as to the methods used by its candidates to secure the nomination. Where the candidates are equally qualified no recommendation is made, unless one has creditably served a term in the Council. In such case it is the invariable rule to prefer the man who has demonstrated his fitness by actual service.

Many of the League's charges, if untrue, would be libelous, and its authors are known to be responsible; yet, while several libel suits have been brought, no plaintiff in any such suit has ever seen fit to press his cause to trial.

Perhaps I can best illustrate the weight attached to the recommendations of the League by narrating an incident of the campaign just closed. The Republican candidate in a largely Republican ward was a man of good appearance, of collegiate education, and the reports upon him were favorable. When the final report in which he was recommended was ready to be given to the press, the Committee received information which aroused its suspicion. There was no time to make a thorough investigation. The man himself was asked to come to League headquarters. The result of the interview, and a

subsequent hasty investigation, is embodied in a portion of the report which I shall shortly read. His Democratic opponent was considered wholly unfit. There were in all wards candidates of various organizations, who, having no reasonable

A Striking Instance. chance of election, were not usually referred to in the League's reports. In the emergency, investigators were hurried to the ward, to ascertain whether any of these might be commended to the voters. The result of their inquiries also appears in the report, which was as follows :

Ward — Vote for _____
Republican; agent for _____, _____ Street; lives _____ born in Virginia; came to Chicago in 1890; lived in ward since 1893; no self-respecting man, knowing his personal history, could vote for him; indicted in Lake county for perjury in connection with default decree of divorce obtained against his first wife under highly discreditable circumstances; although acquitted on the perjury charge, the decree was opened, and he then dismissed the suit; subsequently a divorce was obtained by his wife; was a witness for defense in the recent trial of O'Donnell & Brady for jury-bribing; upon a material point in his testimony there were numerous other witnesses for the defense, all of whom, excepting "Bill" Gallagher, contradicted his story; a most dangerous man to elect to the Council; signed League platform.

_____, Democrat; physician; lives _____ avenue; political affiliations bad; unfit and wholly undesirable candidate; signed League platform.

_____, Socialist; wood carver for Pullman Company; secretary of the Chicago branch of the International Carvers' Association of America, lives at 346 Fulton avenue, Pullman; born in Norway; 28 years old; resided in ward fifteen years; studious, well informed; reputation excellent; well qualified for office; represents the conservative element of his party and is very popular; his candidacy affords the voters of a decent ward the only way out of an otherwise hopeless situation; the election of either _____

or _____ would disgrace the ward ; the election of _____ would be a credit to it."

The result was no less surprising to the League than to the people generally. The Socialist received more than a third of the votes cast, running about two thousand ahead of his ticket in a total vote of about eight thousand, and defeating both the regular party candidates. As a further illustration of the same nature, I cite the fact, which occurs to me at the moment, that in 1901, in eleven wards carried by Harrison, Democratic candidate for mayor, Republican aldermen were elected, recommended by the League.

I have before stated that the council organization is non-partisan. In the early history of the League it found partisan

Non-partisan Organization of Council. organization a serious obstacle to progress. Accordingly, in 1899 it asked all candidates to pledge themselves to advocate a non-partisan organization. That year the pledge was kept.

But the following year the Republicans, finding themselves in a larger majority, and under strong party pressure, gave a definition to the term "non-partisan" which was not acceptable to the people. They called a party caucus, and allotted places with reasonable regard to the number and fitness of the minority. To prevent such misunderstandings in the future, the plan now in force was adopted the following year. Each candidate is requested by the League to pledge himself to vote in favor of a slate to be prepared by a bi-partisan committee composed of three Democrats and three Republicans, selected respectively by their party associates before the election. The committees as thus organized are formed upon the basis of fitness, and the few disreputables in the Council are assigned to committees which rarely meet.

Summing up as to the League, I would say, as was said in the beginning, that its success is due to the sincere desire of a large portion of the community for better government. Given the facts, the average citizen, not politically hidebound, prefers to vote for a fit man, rather than for a bad or an unfit one. The League furnishes the facts, unbiased by partisanship or personal feeling, and unaffected by libel suits or threats. The

people of Chicago have confidence in it, and accept its judgments, with the results I have briefly narrated.

In conclusion upon this subject, I would add that it takes no part in any elections except such as concern membership in the City Council.

The most serious difficulties in the way of Chicago's progress are in the constitutional and statutory restrictions by which it is bound. Without modification of these, and whatever the spirit of the people may be, while local conditions may be improved, no adequate steps can be taken to establish a simple and orderly municipal government, or to place the city's finances on a solid foundation.

By Article IX of the Constitution of 1870, every municipal corporation is prohibited from becoming indebted, in any manner or for any purpose, to an amount exceeding **Municipal
Indebtedness.** 5 per cent of the assessed valuation of the taxable property therein. By provisions of the Revenue Act, the assessed valuation is fixed at one-fifth of the actual valuation, both of real and personal property. The allowable limit of indebtedness had already been reached by the City of Chicago when the Constitution of 1870 was adopted. Hence, during more than thirty years of expansion, both in population and area, the city has been without means of undertaking upon any adequate scale such public works as are fitting for a municipality of its size. The burden of any improvements made have been imposed upon the present generation, either by way of special assessments or general taxation. In consequence, the city has financially lived from hand to mouth. No relief from this situation is possible, except by change in the Constitution.

Again, the affairs of the city are administered by a number of local governments, each having its separate organization. Including the state and the several park systems, there are eleven boards making annual levies within the city limits. It follows naturally that there is waste, confusion, duplication of governmental machinery, and extensive fields for the operation of spoils politicians. In many other respects the city is grievously embarrassed, as the result of the illogical system

which gives to the State Legislature control over its purely local concerns.

In October last, at the instance of the Civic Federation, twenty-three clubs and societies inaugurated a movement to secure necessary modifications of the State Constitution ; a conference being called for that purpose, taking the name "Chicago New Charter Convention." At several sessions of the convention attended by leading lawyers and business men, needs and methods of obtaining them were discussed. As a result, a bill was presented to the present Legislature for the submission to the people of an amendment to the Constitution. After a vigorous campaign in its behalf, on the twenty-second of

the present month, with one material amendment, the bill was finally passed, and will no doubt become a law. The amendment to the Constitution contemplated will permit the consolidation of all the Chicago taxing bodies, except the Sanitary District, and the county, the framing of a simple and adequate plan of local government, and reform of local minor courts; and what, as above shown, is of the utmost importance, the increasing of the limit of indebtedness from 5 per cent of the assessed valuation to 5 per cent of the actual valuation of the taxable property.

The passage of this act is, of course, but the first step toward accomplishing the object intended. The amendment must be submitted to the electors at the next election of members of the General Assembly in November, 1904, and must receive the affirmative vote of the majority of the electors voting at that election. Should the amendment become part of the Constitution, any law based upon it affecting the municipal government of Chicago must be consented to by a majority of the legal voters of the city. In the meantime the endeavor of the friends of the amendment will be directed to informing the voters outside of the city of Chicago's situation and her urgent need of the relief which this amendment would make possible. It is believed that these efforts will be successful, for whatever contributes to the prosperity of the city is of necessity of advantage to the state.

If the proposed amendment becomes part of the Constitution, and laws are enacted which it will permit, then for the first time Chicago will be afforded adequate means and a fair opportunity of establishing a comparatively simple, systematic system of government upon a sound financial basis.

The Municipal Situation in Indianapolis

By CHARLES C. BROWN
Editor, "Municipal Engineering"

The municipality is a business proposition, and has nothing in common with political parties of either state or nation, whatever may be the necessities of practical politics. As such, it should be administered on business principles. It is a very common business principle that there must be no division of responsibility. The stockholders in a company put their **Business Principles.** interests in the hands of a board of directors, who determine the policy of the organization, and officers are elected to put this policy into operation. The responsibility for the administration of the policy is concentrated upon a single head, and that for carrying out the detail of each department upon a single subordinate, who is responsible directly to his executive superior up the line to the head of the entire administration.

The theory of the government of the City of Indianapolis varies little from this. The stockholders (voters) elect once in two years, instead of once a year as in the ordinary stock company, the City Council as the legislative authority and the mayor as the executive head. The Council does not have all the powers of the ordinary board of directors, since it does not elect the mayor, and does not determine the policy of the administration nor the method of carrying it out. The voters have decided at the polls what policy they wish to follow for the next two years, and the initiative in carrying it out is conferred upon the mayor. The Council stands by **Schemes of Government.** to approve or disapprove of certain classes of operations, to pass the necessary legislation and make the necessary appropriations for carrying on the adminis-

tration, and thus has a check upon departures from the policy fixed upon before election. It also has the duty of inspection of methods and investigation and report upon derelictions of duty.

To take charge of the detail of the various departments of municipal activity, the mayor appoints three members of a board of public works and a city engineer subordinate to them, a board of public safety, a board of public health, a city attorney and a city comptroller, who form his advisory cabinet. None of these appointments are confirmed by the council and all are revocable by the mayor at his pleasure. Each head of department appoints his own subordinates, and in some cases heads of sub-departments have the appointment of their own subordinates.

It is clearly seen that the city is upon the same business basis as the business corporation with which it is compared and that, with equally well-informed stockholders and with equal attention by them to the progress of the business, equally good officials should be obtained. As a matter of fact, this comparison is true to the smallest detail. There are many companies whose stockholders are not competent business men or are too much occupied by other affairs and which, therefore, fail or fall into the hands of designing men, who operate them for their own benefit. This sometimes happens in the city. There are other companies whose stockholders have high ideals and are able to select the best men to carry them to success. This sometimes happens in the city. There are other companies which have stockholders with diverse interests and are, therefore, subject to dissensions and, no matter what officers are put in charge, interfere in legal and illegitimate ways with the conduct of the business, with consequent friction and failure to reach the highest success possible. This sometimes happens in the city.

The brilliant success of business corporations made up of men of experience and integrity, who delegate their powers to tried and successful directors whose hands they uphold, demonstrates that the principles upon which they are conducted are correct. The failure or the qualified success of others, lacking the high qualities of the first one described,

shows, not the defects of the system, but the defects in those who are attempting to operate the system.

The ordinary political administration of a municipality desires the greatest possible division of responsibility. Its ~~Concentration of Responsibility.~~ safety under the too common manipulation of public office for private ends is in this division, for the consequences of incompetency and dishonesty can seldom be placed exactly where they belong and those who are shrewd enough can retain their control, either by direct reëlection to their offices or by securing the election of their henchmen. This is not possible in Indianapolis. The responsibility for failure, either from incompetency or dishonesty, is definitely fixed. The departments are independent of each other but directly responsible to the mayor and to no one else. They can, therefore, be held responsible for any defects in their operation, and his failure to correct errors of his appointees or to replace them by better servants of the people transfers the odium of any misconduct in them directly to him.

Failure to carry out the policy which the election endorsed can sometimes be excused by the failure of the Council to pass the necessary legislation or furnish the necessary funds. This may be possible by reason of the election of a majority of the Council which is not in accord with the mayor, either because it is of the other party or because of dissensions in the party in power, and is almost the only considerable departure from the practice of business corporations, whose presidents are almost always elected by the board of directors. The number of councilmen at large is, however, so large that it has seldom happened that the council majority differed from the mayor in party affiliations.

Honesty and efficiency in municipal administration are not matters of legislation, and it is impossible to devise any system of city government which will eliminate dishonest and incompetent officials if the voters are so careless or so ignorant that they will elect men of objectionable character to office. The best which the Legislature can do is to give the city a form of government which will be efficient in reasonably good hands,

and the management of which can be changed promptly and completely when that becomes necessary. These are prime qualities of the form of government in Indianapolis and in several other Indiana cities. The change of one official, the mayor, can change the entire character of the administration, and this change can take place at any biennial election. The consequence is that the city has exactly as good an administration as its citizens want, and can improve it, or the reverse, at any time it so desires. The trouble with many forms of city government is that a change of administration is not a change in methods, for it cannot be complete and the old influences soon resume control. But Indianapolis can have a new deal at any time.

With reference to the details of city work, complete change of personnel is very undesirable. The details are the same whatever the general policy as to amount or general character of work may be. The employees of this grade of work should, therefore, hold their office during good behavior. To some extent this is true in Indianapolis. The police and fire departments are under a sort of civil service system, the only other requirements being that the number of men from each of the two political parties shall be the same. The employees of the Board of Health are most of them under an examination system. The complete civil service system is expressly permitted by the city charter but has not been in use in any department except the city engineer's office during one administration. There could be considerable improvement in some departments under a thorough civil service system, but the present method of appointment, coupled with the direct responsibility of the appointing power for the acts of his appointees, as well as his own, produces results which are not very materially less satisfactory in the average and which are, in special cases, very good.

It is not to be presumed that the government of the City of Indianapolis is perfect, nor that it is equal to the possibilities under its charter system. It cannot be too often nor too strongly stated that the perfection of the system does not insure the perfection of the administration. It is confidently believed,

however, that the system in use makes it possible for the city to have the best government which it is willing to work for and to put this government in full operation at any election it sees fit. In other words, the city has and can have exactly as good an administration as it wants, and under the charter system the efficiency of the administration of the city can approximate as closely to that of a business corporation of the same financial strength, as the qualifications and knowledge of the voters in the city approximate to those of the stockholders in the corporation.

If the administration is not the best possible, we must look to the voters for the reasons for the failure, not to the charter. That instrument certainly gives every opportunity for the best results, and the voters get what their knowledge and attention to public affairs entitle them to.

The autocracy of one-man power which so many fear in this form of administration has not developed in Indianapolis. The political boss seems to have even less hold than in cities with greater division of responsibility, and the size of the **Autocracy** independent vote is such that he must approximate very closely to the ideals of the better **Undeveloped** class of citizens or his administration is displaced at the next election. The city has always had a way of voting with considerable independence upon purely municipal questions, and the influence of the present charter is to increase this tendency. Elections are held on the off year of county, state and national elections, and while the party machinery of the municipal elections is the same as that of the other elections, the voters are very free in their choice of candidates and vote very largely with reference to municipal conditions and without thought of political party lines.

The city has not expressed a desire for one of the "Citizens' Leagues," so common in the past few years, until some recent developments in municipal methods called for more information that is readily obtainable from the usual sources.

I believe I am not violating a confidence when I say that the study of the results of several years shows that the city has had, on the whole, more than ordinarily good government, and that,

while in some respects there could be improvement in service and greater economy, the general results, as compared with other cities, make a better showing than any of them. The League, in this line, must therefore show as models, not the achievements of other cities, but the possibilities under our form of administration and the points in which the performance falls short of the promise. At the present time it has its mission and its work on hand, and it should be a material aid in the education of voters of all classes, especially the independent voters in the qualifications and the records of the aspirants for office, and the requirements which should be made of them before nominating or electing them to positions of trust.

This paper is long enough without going into details of successes and failures, and they will, therefore, be left to another speaker and another occasion.

The Municipal Situation in Ohio

By HARRY A. GARFIELD, Esq.
President, Cleveland Municipal Association

For many years Ohio has been an important field of action for contending political forces. Forming the eastern and southern portion of the old Northwest Territory, the stream of population flowing westward into Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, necessarily passed through Ohio and deposited here and there through its fertile valleys thrifty and vigorous settlements. The Potomac route, connecting the Ohio valley with tidewater at Philadelphia and Alexandria, brought settlers from southern Pennsylvania, western Maryland and northern Virginia; while the way opened a few years later through western New York and Lake Erie was the favorite route for New Englanders. Naturally, each community transferred to the new territory its own customs and institutions, and even to this day one finds a marked difference between the dwellers in the northern and southern sections of the state. Hence, as might be expected, when communities sought to become incorporated, a preference was expressed for the form of government and scope of authority to which the citizen had been accustomed in his former home. The first constitution of the state—the constitution of 1802—contained no limitation upon the right of the Legislature to grant special charters, or to pass laws affecting one part of the state and not another. Therefore, whenever the people of a city, town or village desired to organize a municipal government, it was customary for them to apply to the General Assembly for a special charter, providing for the organization and government of the city or village. These were liberally granted and were, apparently, the only forms of grant under which the municipal corporations of the state were organized

and governed until the passage of the general act of 1852, after the adoption of the new constitution.

The evils of special legislation soon became manifest. Not only was there no uniformity between the charters granting corporate powers, but special acts affecting the people's interests at all points soon became the order of the day, and laws were enacted by an indifferent Legislature by purely log-rolling methods, each representative caring only for the approval of his constituents and securing the support of his fellow-senators and members for bills applicable only to his locality, in exchange for a like support accorded to measures put forward by his associates in behalf of their constituencies. The debates of the Constitutional Convention are replete with illustrations of the evil thus precipitated upon the people.

The enactment of these special laws was one of the chief causes leading to the convention of 1851 and the adoption of the present constitution, which, in express terms, provides that "all laws of a general nature shall have uniform operation throughout the state" (Article 2, Section 26), prohibits the passage of special acts conferring corporate powers (Article 13, Section 1), and requires the General Assembly to "provide for the organization of cities, and incorporated villages, by general laws" (Article 13, Section 6). Pursuant to this last provision of the constitution, the General Assembly, on May 3, 1852, passed a general law providing for the incorporation and government of all the cities and villages of the state.

The history of what followed is best summed up by Judge Shauck of our Supreme Court, in the Toledo case (*State ex rel Knisely et al vs. Jones et al*, 66 O. S. 453) which with the Cleveland case (*State of Ohio ex rel Attorney General vs. Beacom*, 66 O. S. 491), overruled the earlier decisions of that court, overthrew the existing classifications of cities in Ohio as unconstitutional, necessitated the call of a special session of the Legislature, and resulted in the adoption, on the twenty-second day of October, 1902, of the present municipal code. He said:

Special Legislation Under Constitution of 1852.

"Originally all the municipal corporations of the state were comprehended within the following classifications: 'Cities of the first and cities of the second class; incorporated villages, and incorporated villages for special purposes.' The basis of the classification was unqualifiedly fixed by the statute which provided that all cities which then had or might thereafter have a population exceeding 20,000, should be cities of the first class; and, by like terms, municipalities having or attaining to a population of more than 5,000, but not exceeding 20,000, should be cities of the second class. By an unvarying rule, the characteristic of population was made the basis of classification, and it was made inevitable that every city attaining a population of 20,000 should advance and become a city of the first class; and that every village attaining a population of 5,000 should become a city of the second class.

"The number of classes into which successive acts have since divided the municipalities of the state to make them re-

The Case of State ex rel vs. Jones et al. recipients of corporate power cannot be ascertained upon any inquiry that is practicable. Sections 1546 and 1552 of the Revised Statutes relate exclusively to the subject of the classifi-

cation. The first of these sections now provides that cities of the first class shall be of three grades, and cities of the second class shall be of eight grades. In the present view, grades of classes are but added classes. In these eleven classes, the eleven principal cities of the state are isolated, so that an act conferring corporate power upon one of them by classified description confers it upon no other. They have been isolated under the guise of classification, as their growth promised realization of the belief which was the foundation of the judicial doctrine of classification, viz.: that their advancement under the unvarying rule of population would give a wider operation to acts conferring corporate powers.

"Furthermore, the increasingly numerous classes of municipalities show that even when a difference in population is made to appear as a basis of classification the differences in population are so trivial that they cannot be regarded as the real basis. We have been required from time to time to examine many of the

acts to confer corporate powers upon the isolated cities composing the eleven classes referred to, and others containing special classifications, and still others have been examined in the present inquiry. In view of the trivial differences in population, and of the nature of the powers conferred, it appeared from such examination, that the present classification cannot be regarded as based upon differences in population, or upon any other real or supposed differences in local requirements. Its real basis is found in the differing views or interests of those who promote legislation for the different municipalities of the state. An intention to do that which would be violative

Overthrow of Classification. of the organic law should not be imputed upon mere suspicion; but the body of legislation relating to the subject shows the legislative intent to substitute isolation for classification, so that all municipalities of the state which are large enough to attract attention shall be denied the protection intended to be afforded by this section of the constitution. The provisions of the section could not be more clear or imperative, and relief from the present confusion of municipal acts and burdens which they impose would not be afforded by its amendment."

At this point we pause, to dwell upon a phase of the situation which is not well understood, and which has called

Causes of Overthrow. forth some unwarranted criticism. In the first place, it must be admitted that political ani-

mosity has played an important part in the overthrow of the classification of cities. But the charge that the judicial department of the state government wittingly played into the hands of the politicians is wholly and entirely without foundation. Special legislation had proved a vexation to the state for many years. The evils growing out of sham classification, permitted by the Supreme Court shortly after the enactment of the law of 1852, in a form apparently harmless, had been clearly recognized for a long time. It was well understood that the classifications indulged in were without justification, and leading lawyers throughout the state believed that the time was surely coming when the Supreme Court would reverse itself and declare unconstitu-

tional acts general in name but special in fact. For fully fifteen years, Judge Shauck had labored to secure the reversal of the earlier decisions of the court, and devoted himself untiringly to educating legislators and judges to his own clear conception of the situation. That he prevailed at last, redounds to his honor and pays high tribute to his perseverance. If political interests, desiring the overthrow of an opponent, utilized the growing sentiment against special legislation and brought before the Supreme Court of the state an issue enabling that court to squarely reverse its former holdings, that should create no comment unfavorable to the court.

With this explanation of the situation leading to the enactment of the present code governing the cities and villages of Ohio, I beg now to pass, for a few moments, to the consideration of the code itself. Since the days of Khammurabi, codes have been made, but with few exceptions they have soon ceased to be more than monuments marking the progress of mankind. Some years ago, I heard Sir Frederick Pollock say that he was quite incorrectly reported by some one, who had imputed to him disapproval of the codification of laws. On the contrary, he said that he believed in codification, but that there were very few, if any, who were sufficiently well informed or wise enough to do the work. Whatever may be the truth of Sir Frederick's statement, it is manifest that a body of men, chosen without special reference to their qualifications as code-makers, coming from localities with different needs and different conceptions of the functions of government, will find it most difficult to agree upon a law for the government of all the cities of a state, whether containing 5,000 or 500,000 inhabitants. Such, however, was the problem which confronted the Legislature of Ohio in August last. Whether or not it is desirable that each municipality of a state be permitted to adopt a constitution for itself was, under the circumstances, purely an academic question. Our Supreme Court has indicated in unmistakable terms that Ohio municipalities must be governed by a law uniform in character as well as in application throughout the state. Therefore, our legislators were compelled to devise a scheme of government for our cities

satisfactory alike to the people of Painesville, with its population of 5,000, and to Cleveland, with its population of 400,000; satisfactory, furthermore, to the descendants of New Englanders located in the Western Reserve and to the descendants of the early Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia settlers along the Ohio valley.

For the past ten years, Cleveland has been living under the so-called Federal Plan. The entire executive and administrative business of the city was placed in the hands of **The Federal and Board Plans.** the mayor by the electors, and he was held primarily responsible for the city's welfare.

The advantages of this plan for progress and development are manifest, and have been made familiar to the League through the production of its model code. But, under the Federal Plan adopted for Cleveland, the mayor, with his Board of Control—his cabinet—became by custom, perhaps even by sanction of law, the real legislative body, though nominally, of course, the City Council was vested with the powers. The members of the board were appointed by the mayor, each member being the head of a department, and each devoting his entire time to the city's business. In their executive capacity, each was independent of all save the mayor; but sitting as a board, with the mayor as presiding officer, they took on the functions of an upper chamber under a bi-cameral system. Furthermore, the members of the board were able to avail themselves immediately, as members of Council were not, of expert advice of engineers and accountants employed by them; and, having seats in Council and participating in debate, they naturally dominated, with the result that the City Council was reduced to hardly more than a body of citizens with power of veto. Opposed to this form of government, there existed in Cincinnati the so-called Board Plan. Divided authority characterizes this conception of government,—with results so well known to the members of this League that it is unnecessary to comment upon them. It would be fruitless to recall the contention over these two forms of government advocated at Columbus during the special session of the Legislature which enacted the code. What is written is written, and until some

future Legislature shall see fit to change in whole or in part the general law which now stands upon our statute books, the municipalities of Ohio are bound to accept a form of government which is neither wholly board plan nor satisfactorily federal in character. It may be that in practice it will meet the needs of the case. At any rate, I believe it to be the duty of every citizen of the state to bend his energy to the selection of men whose character and fitness will bring to public office such an administration of the affairs of our cities under the new code as will give that instrument the best chance possible to demonstrate its usefulness.

Under the new code an attempt is made to restore the lost balance of power, not only by limiting the exercise of legislative functions strictly to the Council, but also **The Municipal Code of 1902.** by separating the executive and administrative departments. The mayor is chief conservator of the peace, and in this office he is supreme. Both the police and fire departments are under his control so completely that an unscrupulous man might build for himself a formidable political machine by failing to insist upon the inauguration of an efficient merit system, faithfully carried into execution. It is worthy of notice, in passing, that a vigorous attempt was made to secure the application of this system to all departments; but this proved impossible, and the provision applies only to police and fire. This certainly is better than nothing, for it makes a beginning, and, if the law is faithfully administered, the usefulness of the system ought to be demonstrated so conclusively as to lead the Legislature gradually to extend its operation to the executive and administrative departments. The administration of affairs,—that is to say, the management and control of public works, and the letting and supervision of all public contracts,—is committed to the charge of a Board of Public Service of three or five members elected by the people, and directly responsible to them. They are to advise with the mayor and furnish him with material for the annual budget, which the mayor is required to transmit to Council. So far they are called upon to coöperate, but, in matters of policy and detail of management, it is the intention of the code that the Board of

Public Service should proceed along independent lines without interference by the mayor. The veto power conferred upon the mayor enables him to exercise an important influence over the City Council; but here again it is the intention of the code that the mayor shall not exercise that degree of influence in Council with respect to legislative acts that he did under the Federal Plan. While thus the General Assembly, in its wisdom, has seen fit to adopt the board plan for the government of our municipalities, and has separated the executive from the administrative, for the avowed purpose of depriving the mayors of our cities of the very large powers formerly exercised by the Mayor of Cleveland, the advocate of the Federal Plan can take some comfort, cold and unsatisfactory though it be, from the provisions governing the Department of Public Safety. The code provides for the appointment by the mayor of two or four citizens of opposite political parties, who shall serve as directors of public safety, to assist him in the performance of his duty as chief conservator of the peace. The duties of the directors are chiefly to serve as commissioners of civil service for the police and fire departments, and to make contracts for materials and supplies required in their management. Except in so far as the merit system prevails,—and this will, of course, depend upon the faithfulness with which the system is put into operation,—the mayor has it in this power to build up both these departments to suit his own desires and ambitions.

The chief objections which have thus far been made to the new code are: first, that the small city is compelled to elect a larger number of officials to transact the business of the city than is at all necessary; second, that progress cannot be as satisfactorily made under divided powers exercised by executive boards; third, that the electors, especially in our large cities, are confronted with a bewildering list of offices to be filled, with the result that far greater difficulty will be experienced in securing satisfactory candidates, and in placing responsibility where it belongs; and fourth, that the real purpose of the framers of the new code was to accomplish the overthrow of Tom L. Johnson rather than to secure a form of government best suited to the

cities of the state. The advocates of the present code, however, argue that these objections, except the last, which is ignored, are offset by making it impossible for any mayor hereafter to build for himself a machine of such formidable proportions as to threaten the business interests of the city.

If the overthrow of the Federal Plan in Cleveland, carrying with it the destruction of the governments of all the municipalities of the state, was deemed desirable or planned for, or aided and abetted by the political opponents of Mayor Johnson, the result hardly justified the effort put forth. The ghost of Banquo will not down. Even though in the opinion of many the occasion is far from humorous, one may be pardoned — whatever his political affiliations — for smiling grimly when contemplating the result of the last election. Mayor Johnson and all his forces landed safely in office under the new code, without even so much as an opportunity for the Governor to appoint the members of the Board of Public Safety, provided for in the event that the appointees of the mayor are not confirmed by a hostile Council.

Americans, like their English cousins, demand fair play ; and the suspicion that something other than patriotic zeal inspired those who raised the issue leading to the sweeping away of sham classifications may have had much to do with the marking of ballots. But here, again, we must discriminate. Sham classifications are unconstitutional as well as reprehensible ; though the motive for setting in motion the legal machinery for their destruction may have been questionable.

The Municipal Situation in San Francisco

By FRANK J. SYMMES

President, Merchants' Association of San Francisco

The celebrated new charter of San Francisco, adopted only after four previous attempts had been voted down, and an experiment that aroused wide interest among publicists at the time of its adoption, is now three years and three months old. We have had time to note some of its working qualities, but not all, and to come to an understanding of a few of its peculiarities and defects. We are still enjoying about the kind of government we deserve, and those who thought that henceforth we were to have a better one than we deserved have met with the inevitable disappointment. Municipal conditions are vastly better than they were under the "Consolidation Act," which had governed us since 1856; but "good government" is still the bright ideal of the optimist,—something yet to be worked out. The worst phase of the case is that we are becoming accustomed to the new order of things, and are in danger of losing that active solicitude which accompanied our awakened political consciousness three years ago. We are used to the new suit of clothes. We have forgotten it is new. And we have a disposition to tolerate the grease spot here and the button off there. Perhaps this is to a small degree pardonable. San Francisco is a very busy city now, industrially and commercially, and it is in the big, busy cities that politics are most neglected and fall into bad hands.

The San Francisco charter was a very radical instrument. Its radicalism had four important points of departure from the old order, besides some minor ones.

First. It sought to centralize power in the mayor.

Important Points of Departure. *Second.* It sought to check him in the use of this power by the most far-reaching civil service laws of any American city.

Third. It declared a purpose to acquire public utilities.

Fourth. It provided for the operation of the initiative and referendum, in order to facilitate the acquisition of public utilities and prevent the bartering away of franchises dishonestly.

To the mayor was given the power of official life and death. In the higher administrative offices he was to appoint and he was to remove. It was hoped that this would

The Mayor. teach a people used to electing a figure-head, to exercise the most careful discrimination in the choice of a vital functionary; and that the functionary so chosen would make appointments beyond criticism. In other words, we were to have an ideal mayor, who would make ideal appointments, and control his appointees with a firm hand after they were seated. All these expectations have been disappointed. We missed the good luck of Baltimore.

At the last election, a large majority of the voters showed the old inclination to follow like sheep where party central committees led. The plurality chose mediocrity dominated by bossism—a sort of attenuated, less-virulent culture of bossism than we have suffered under in the past, but bossism none the less.

Responsibility might have made a good mayor out of mediocrity. But mediocrity's appointments to office have not been uniformly good, and as for the removals, they have been blocked by injunctions, until it is hard to believe the mayor is anywhere near as potent as the charter intended him to be; and, in fact, the public does not seem inclined to hold him to such strict accountability as his large theoretical powers would justify if they could be realized. For example, he is not considered responsible for the acts of his Health Department, for he has tried to remove several members of the health board and found himself restrained by the courts. There are those

in our city who even insist on looking upon the mayor, after three years of the charter, as a "great moral power in the community." A forceful man, with unimpeachable purposes and the confidence of the public, could, under this charter, make himself a great political power—to such an extent as to overshadow the other departments of local government completely.

From an abuse of the mayor's power by the aid of patronage the charter seeks to protect the public by the most sweeping civil service reform provisions in any instrument of the kind.

Civil Service Reform. It has been frequently said, and is no doubt true, that the charter, with the provisions for acquiring public utilities, would never have been adopted had it not contained the article on the civil service. But it may be seriously questioned whether the framers of the charter did not seek to carry the theory of civil service reform a little farther in certain directions than it is practical to have it go. Nothing so weakens a law of general application as to have it found inapplicable in some particulars, and our civil service law has had to contend with that difficulty. The exemptions under it are very few. The tax collector is permitted to appoint his own chief deputy and cashier; the auditor, a deputy; the board of works, a secretary, architect, and city engineer; the election commissioners, a register; the police and fire commissioners, chiefs of their working departments. Physicians appointed by the board of health are also exempt. But all other positions to which civil service rules apply must be filled after examinations, "which shall be public, competitive and free." This is a provision which, I believe, does not generally obtain. Such positions as that of janitor, general mechanic and others requiring no special skill or educational qualification might well have been omitted, or the examinations for them made non-competitive or nominal. We have never yet had an examination for janitor in the City Hall. Here are about forty janitors working as temporary appointees pending examinations, with no security of tenure, and some of them have been working on that basis for three years. The chief examiner protests that it is very difficult to hold an open and competitive examination

for such a position, and, doubtless, he is right. When the charter went into effect it confirmed in their places all firemen and policemen then in good standing, and provided that only new appointees to those forces should be subjected to examination; and it might well have made similar provision in the case of janitors. Yet as long as it did not, the failure to hold a "public, competitive and free" examination for sweeping floors and cleaning windows tends to grow into a scandal of administration and destroy regard for the law. The same thing may be said for a number of small hospital jobs under the board of health, drawing from five to fifteen dollars a month. These jobs are ordinarily filled by convalescent patients. They would not commonly be sought by the hungriest politicians, and should be considered as charity rather than patronage. Yet the civil service commissioners are supposed to hold, as soon as they get around to it, "public, competitive and free examinations" for an assistant mattress-maker in the city and county hospital, and for a number of "helpers" at the same institution. If no such examinations are ever held, practical politicians are apt to "view with alarm" the discrimination and favoritism displayed by the proponents of reform.

These are slight indications of what might be called the legitimate difficulties of our civil service administration under "Legitimate" the charter. Other and graver ones have been Difficulties. made for it by men whose interests have been menaced by it, or who have not properly discharged their obligation toward it.

The power of making temporary appointments, pending examination, has been abused. Men have been appointed in this manner whose cases would not stand investigation, and in one recent instance the appointing officer removed his non-civil service employees, rather than try to justify to the Merchants' Association their presence in his office. These appointments can not be made except with the approval of the civil service **Temporary Appointments.** commissioners, but it is contended on this behalf that they have no time to investigate individual cases, and when the official asks approval of the appointment of some man in a confidential capacity to

do a special kind of work, they take his word for it that the proceeding is justifiable. In order to prevent such infractions of the law, there seems to be need of some sort of walking delegate who can examine all appointees and determine which ones are illegally on the pay-rolls. But no such functionary could be depended upon to do his work properly if he were an officer created by law. To see that civil service laws are executed is essentially the business of the citizenship outside of politics, for that is the part of the community interested in the enforcement of the merit system, and the only part so interested. Civil service laws will not execute themselves, and no automatic reform has yet been invented.

That the law will not execute itself is sufficiently evident from San Francisco's experience. When the charter was new, the merit system started off at a good pace. During the first year, 2,173 applicants were examined in 42 examinations; 1,031 passed, and 231 were appointed to positions. The second year, there were 19 examinations, and 273 appointments of civil service eligibles. In addition, during these two **Examinations.** years, there were appointed from the eligible lists 150 ordinary clerks and 144 laborers, making 798 original civil service appointments, which, with the firemen and policemen confirmed in their positions without examination, made a total of 1,560 jobs removed from the spoils system, with salaries aggregating \$1,842,564 annually. About 300 places remained at this time to be filled, according to the Commission's report, with aggregate salaries of \$221,172. At the same time, the municipal pay-roll, exclusive of the purely "county offices," so-called,—to which the Supreme Court decided the city civil service law did not apply,—approximated \$2,200,000. If these figures are correct,—and probably they are as nearly correct as current municipal accounting will permit us to be,—and if we calculate its progress in dollars and cents, the reform of the civil service had been carried in two years about 18.4 miles on its 20.6-mile journey; that is, positions worth \$1,842,564, had been brought under the system, in a possible list worth about \$2,063,736. And, if the whole distance were covered, there would only be about \$140,000 of the purely

municipal salary list, or a mile and four-tenths, to which the system could not go.

Although to persons covetous of patronage the law was an object of real hate and pretended derision, and though the cry of "humbug" went up from San Francisco to Sacramento, the results should have been, and doubtless were, most gratifying to the public at large. Efficiency, reliability and economy began to assert themselves in the city offices, accompanied by an unwonted civility and courtesy toward citizens who had business to transact "at the Hall." Heads of departments commended it in letters to the Commission. The president of the board of Health said:

"There is no question whatever as to the general superiority of the character of service rendered by those attachés of this department accredited from your Commission after competitive examination, as compared with that furnished under the old plan, when appointments were usually made for personal reasons or through political influence."

The registrar of voters and secretary to the election commission, whose force of clerical assistants is large and important, said: "We are able, after an experience of two years, to say that the service has been benefited materially by the introduction of this system of appointments. The reduction in the expenses of this department over previous years is very marked, and the general efficiency of the office is recognized to have improved."

The tax collector testified: "With few exceptions I find the force competent, gentlemanly, and in every way adapted to the various duties assigned them. I have no hesitancy in saying that better results are obtained under the new order than formerly."

The police commission was a little more critical, but complimentary, in regard to original appointments. The commissioners say: "We desire to state that so far as the system applies to the original appointment of police officers in the department, it is unquestionably the most satisfactory and comprehensive

**Results
Generally
Gratifying.**

method that could be adopted, and is infinitely superior to the system in operation before the adoption of the charter. With reference, however, to the operation of the merit system as applied to promotions in the department, we seriously doubt, after making due allowance for the short time that the officers promoted have served in their respective positions, the success of the continuance of the system, believing, as we do, that promotions should be made upon recommendation of the company commanders, endorsed by the chief of police and confirmed by the board of police commissioners,—such appointments, after being made, to be subjected to the appointees passing satisfactory examinations as to their efficiency, on similar lines to those held by the examining boards of the United States Army to qualify army officers for promotion to higher grades."

The commissioners of public works complained of the inefficiency of some of the laborers furnished; but the Commission replied to the effect that if the men were inefficient they should be brought before the Civil Service Board for trial, as the law provides.

The tax collector, who employs some forty or more deputies in the tax and license departments, and who may be classified as a politician of the practical type, has made a statement, which probably describes very well the average character of the man of the reformed civil service. He said:

"I can go out and pick up forty men loafing around the saloons in the neighborhood of the City Hall, who can do the work of these offices better than the men supplied me by the Civil Service Commission. They are men who have held jobs here in years gone by, and they are quick, acute and good at a pinch. But they are not all reliable. Most of them cannot be depended upon. Some of them are drunken and irregular in their habits. These civil service men, on the other hand, are plodders. They are content with their salaries and willing to earn them. Not many of them drink, and the majority of them can be depended on for steady service. In the long run, I would much rather have them than the other sort."

These statements indicate what the public has gained in a

positive or constructive direction. Its gain in the other direction, the destruction of machine methods ~~Destruction of Machine Methods.~~ in politics, has also been large, although, as yet, one-sided. It is declared that the former mayor, if nominated, would have failed of reelection, for the reason that a considerable number of the practical political "workers" of his party had obtained civil service jobs under the merit system and could no longer be depended upon to do the old political "work" in primaries and conventions that is so necessary to machine politics. A good part of the Democratic machine had either been deprived of the hope of political reward, or it had secured positions safe from the changes of politics and settled down into the sober, plodding method described by the tax collector. If this is true to any perceptible degree, civil service reform, as far as it had been carried, had worked out exactly as its proponents had predicted, and justified every claim they had made. It had promoted efficiency, economy and business methods, and had hurt the political machine where it hurts most—in the pocket. Individual bad cases were known, individual infractions had been permitted, but, on the whole, the results were good. Thus matters stood at the beginning of the present mayor's term.

The problem now was to carry the reformer the last two and one-fifth miles of its journey to completion. At this point, the personnel of the commission changed through the death of one member and the expiration of another's term. Work slacked up. Exactly four examinations were held in a year, and two of these were for promotion in the police department. An effort to hold an examination for drivers of ambulances and patrol wagons was blocked by injunction, which was dissolved only to be renewed, and the same thing was encountered in the attempt to hold an examination for certain positions in the department of electricity. Some time was consumed with trials before the commission, but not enough to excuse it wholly for its lack of effort in the examining line.

It is a healthy symptom that a period of inaction on the commission's part began to evoke complaints from the Merchants' Association, and, with a newly appointed majority (one

commissioner resigned and another's term expired), the office of the commission begins to show renewed signs of life. How long it will continue, or whether **Period of Inaction.** the efforts of a certain rising labor politician to make a little machine of his own out of the patronage not yet taken in out of the rain will cause the commission to complete the reform of the city's civil service, it is not possible now to say. With all its imperfections, civil service reform in San Francisco is a reality, and a success as far as it has gone, and, properly sustained by public sentiment, will make a return to our ancient ills impossible. Its continued operation, however, depends on the maintenance of public interest in it. Our leading newspapers render no real assistance.

In several of the most important offices the system does not apply, and here is a matter of the gravest importance for those who look to radical legislation for the reform of municipal ills. We have had our severe and costly lesson in the necessity for care in draughting legislation. This must be carefully noted if others are to profit by San Francisco's experience.

In the charter, as under the Consolidation Act that preceded it, city and county are one government; they are co-extensive **City and County.** in area, and intended to be identical in their political organization. The charter was framed under an amendment to the Constitution, which reads in part: "Where a city and county government has been merged and consolidated into one municipal government, it shall also be competent in any charter framed under said Section eight of Article XI, to provide for the manner in which, the times at which, and the terms for which the several county officers shall be elected or appointed, for their compensation, and for the number of deputies that each shall have, and for the compensation payable to each of such deputies."

It was commonly thought that this empowered the charter to prescribe also the "qualifications" of these deputies, and accordingly the county offices were, supposedly, put under the merit system. On trial of the point, however, the Supreme Court decided against that contention, standing on a strict construction of the letter of the law, and refusing to concede any-

thing to so radical a departure, beyond the exact words of the amendment. Immediately it became impossible to enforce the merit system in the offices of the recorder,

Exemptions.

assessor, coroner, sheriff and county clerk. The lesson from this experience is that if we wish to alter the fundamental law of the state to such an extent as to place county offices under the control of municipalities, or to an extent that would make possible any change equally radical, we must make the alteration very explicit. Courts are properly conservative. They can not be expected to strain points of construction in order to aid reform legislation loosely drafted.

Of the five offices exempted by the decisions, one, at least, has reverted to a condition in marked and instructive contrast

**Instructive
Contrast.**

to those under civil service reform. The county clerk's office is said to be a year behind in its work. Attorneys who wish decrees of court entered with any promptness find it advantageous to tender some political deputy payments for working "overtime." Recently the politicians took to squabbling among themselves and exposed what a local newspaper asserts to be irregularities in accounts and entries, amounting to a grave scandal. A number of the employees of this office are said to be members of the old and notorious Crimmins machine.

Civil service reform has materially increased the efficiency of the police department. That it would altogether purify it and put it above suspicion was too much to expect, and we still hear of bribery scandals in connection with prostitution and Chinese gambling. Apparently, however, the city has been made a bad place for criminals, and violent crime seems to be detected and punished with greater frequency than before, despite the fact that San Francisco is both a seaport and a garrison city, and is growing so rapidly that it is difficult to enlarge the force at a corresponding rate.

The charter says: "It is hereby declared to be the purpose and intention of the people of the city and **Public Utilities.** county that its public utilities shall be gradually acquired and ultimately owned by the city and county." It imposes upon the city engineer the duties of

providing supervisors every two years with plans and estimates of the cost of construction of public utilities, and upon the supervisors the duty of opening negotiations for their acquisition by construction or purchase, "at as early a date as they may deem for the best interests of the city and county," and then to submit to the electors proposals for such acquisition. If the property can be bought out of current revenues, a majority vote makes such acquisition lawful; but if it is necessary to bond the city for the purpose, a two-thirds vote is required.

The matter of acquiring a public utility has actually come before the public but once since the charter was adopted, and then the proposition failed. The Geary Street Railway could have been acquired and freshly equipped for \$750,000, but as the undertaking called for the bonding of the city it required a two-thirds vote to pass. This it failed to receive, though there was a majority in favor. In the meanwhile, it became evident that the section requiring the city engineer to furnish plans and estimates on public utilities every two years was going to prove an expensive nuisance, and, by popular vote, ratified by the Legislature, the charter was amended in that particular; \$45,000, approximately, has been appropriated and expended by the engineer department in the investigation of a proposed city water supply.

The public utilities of San Francisco are still, in the main, the property of private corporations. The only exception, outside the parks and public buildings, is a department of electricity, having control of the fire alarm and police telephone and telegraph system, with which any citizen may be connected at a fair rate for the purpose of fire and police protection. This is a creation of the charter.

The charter provides for the initiating of ordinances and charter amendments. It is necessary to set out the proposed ordinance or amendment in a petition to the election commissioners signed by a number of voters equal to 15 per cent of the vote at the preceding election, and thereupon the commission must submit the ordinance or amendment at the next election. A majority vote passes it, if it is an ordinance, except it be a proposal to

**Initiative and
Referendum.**

bond the city, which requires a two-thirds vote; and if it be a charter amendment the popular vote puts it on the way to ratification by the Legislature. The supervisors may also submit a proposal for the repeal of an ordinance thus passed. Proposals to grant franchises for the supply of light and water, to lease or sell a public utility, or to buy land worth more than \$50,000, must also be referred to popular vote, or the action is invalid. Our only experience with referendum was in the case of the proposal to bond the city, alluded to above, which demonstrated that the charter is really a rather conservative instrument when it comes to contracting a public debt. The only attempt to put the initiative into operation was made by the gambling element, which secured the requisite signatures for the submission of an ordinance permitting pool-selling, but failed to secure its passage. The provisions for the initiative are said by competent attorneys to be of doubtful constitutionality.

The legislative body in the municipality is the board of eighteen supervisors, elected for two years, and representing the public at large. There are, at present, no wards or other subdivisions for representative purposes, and each man is responsible, not to a small neighborhood, but to the whole city. This means that the voters must choose eighteen recipients of his suffrage instead of one; but San Francisco has for many years worked under that system and at present it seems to work well. The board now consists of six Republicans, eight Democrats and four Labor Unionists. Its legislation has been generally good, and no serious charge of corruption stands against it. It has not been strong enough, however, to raise saloon licenses from the present nominal rate of \$84 a year, a rate under which we have accumulated over 3,000 saloons, and it has been guilty of the outrageous favoritism involved in closing a race-track for one set of owners and opening it for another.

San Francisco has always been rather badly off for material equipment, and it was the expectation of the framers of the charter that a number of necessities would be supplied under it that we had never been able to come at under corrupt and wasteful regime. The city and county hospital is described

by experts as the very worst place of the sort in the civilized world—an unsanitary building, infected with disease, with no proper accommodations for separating contagious from non-contagious cases, where there are but one and one-fifteenth beds for each thousand of population, instead of four to the thousand as there should be, and where the total amount spent for diet and attendance is sixty-seven cents a patient per diem, instead of from \$1.30 to \$2.50 or \$3, as in modern hospitals in the east.

Material Equipment. Our sewer system is bad. We have had large sewers that emptied into small ones, sewers made of wooden drains, sewers that ran up hill over rocks in the contractor's way, and sewers that consisted of empty cement barrels thrown into a trench. These were a legacy from the ante-charter days. If the city had not been naturally sanitary beyond any important municipality in the world, such a system would probably have finished it.

Many of our schools are overcrowded. Many children are without suitable accommodation and are crammed in rickety buildings whose retention would be an unpardonable disgrace were they not a necessity.

The expansion of the park system and the continued crusade against the cobblestone street were also contemplated when the charter was adopted.

All these matters cry aloud for attention, and the Board of Supervisors has recently taken a preparatory step for a bond election for the issue of \$13,150,000 securities to provide new schools, parks, street improvement, a new hospital and a new sewer system. Each plan must be voted upon separately, and will require a two-thirds vote to carry. Down to the present time San Francisco has not had a public debt.

By the charter, the rate for city and county purposes, other than payments on the public debt and for the maintenance and improvement of the parks, squares and public grounds, is limited to one dollar in a hundred.

Taxation. This limitation can only be raised under plea of urgent necessity by the unanimous vote of the supervisors, with the mayor's approval, and it has probably done more than any

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other one thing to equalize the burden of taxation in San Francisco, by compelling a diligent search for all taxable property, in order that the necessary revenue might be found; a work that has been well executed under the present assessor. Sixty odd million dollars' worth of personal property has been added to the assessment rolls, while the burden on real estate in general has not been sensibly increased, and the art of dodging taxes in this municipality has become comparatively rare.

FISCAL YEAR	TOTAL ASSESSED VALUE OF TAXABLE PROPERTY	TOTAL TAXES CHARGED
1900-01	\$410,146,954 00	\$6,110,252 28
1901-02	413,146,827 00	5,830,632 81
1902-03	419,968,644 00	6,124,655 83

YEAR	RATE OF TAXATION		
	CITY AND COUNTY	STATE	TOTAL RATE
1900	\$1.127	.498	\$1.625
1901	1.0762	.480	1.242
1902	1.2262	.382	1.608

The Board of Education, which formerly consisted of twelve unpaid members, now comprises four members appointed by the mayor and paid \$3,000 a year each. There is one former teacher on the present board. Education. The first appointees started with an excellent movement in behalf of manual training, but, like some other good impulses that existed when the charter was new, this one has practically been abandoned.

Our charter has its defects, some of which we shall always have to endure, some of which are susceptible of being amended away. Under it, the possibilities of harm to the city if the mayoralty is permitted to fall into bad hands are greatly enlarged, and this may bring our citizens to a realization of the importance of non-partisan action in local politics in order to secure good men in office. Terms of office are too short, but that is largely the

Defects of
Charter.

fault of the State Constitution, with its tenure-of-office clause. If the mayor could be elected for twenty years we should probably be sure of a good man who, like wine, would improve with age. The same thing applies here and elsewhere to the terms of all the offices, and probably to minor positions in our civil service, though that point has not yet been decided by our courts. A mistake was probably made in combining the functions of tax and license collector under one head. There should have been no administrative boards. Boards are for deliberation, not execution. We might as well have a board of assessment and a board of tax collecting and a board of treasury and another of shrievalty as to have a board of elections or public works, or boards of fire and police commissioners. Larger salaries and longer terms of office would attract one expert to the head of each administrative department, and no more are needed. A useless multiplicity of places hides responsibility and tempts to the use of appointments as political spoils. Of this tendency, we have recently had a rather significant example in the appointment of the mayor's brother to a place on the Board of Works, to fill a vacancy caused by death. The appointee is not such a person as would probably have been appointed, even by a reckless executive, to so important a post, if instead of a number of commissioners we had one man at the head of the department. Under him, he will have another brother to the mayor, holding a position that should be under civil service regulations, but is not.

No new public utilities have been acquired in San Francisco. Needed public improvements have not been made. Though the assessor has probably been stimulated to greater activity by the rigid tax limitation, in other offices the tendency of men to fall into routine and render perfunctory service has manifested itself. Schemes of great public improvement that could only be carried out by having the municipality buy some tract of land, change its character, and sell it in its altered form, can not be executed, because land once purchased by the city cannot be sold. Yet, in spite of these facts, the charter has been working in a manner fairly satisfactory to the conservative mass of the people. Many of the evils of bossism have been checked,

though politicians are still fighting the reform of the civil service. The interference of the State Legislature has been greatly reduced. The original Consolidation Act, passed in 1856, occupied nineteen pages, and by 1890 the General Considerations, amendments to it, made at Sacramento, occupied 431. This annoyance has largely given place to home rule. Most of the laws relating to San Francisco are now of home manufacture, and the people at least have the chance to protest at home if they do not like them.

The most serious faults are not with the present instrument of government but with the personnel of administration. And in justice it must be said, it might have been a great deal worse.

Phases of the municipal situation that transcend charter operation deserve notice. Much has been said about our Bubonic plague, and those at a distance have heard much more about it than we in San Francisco. By joint action of several of the mercantile bodies, the city, state and federal health authorities have been induced to stop debating the question whether there really was or was not any plague in the city, and go to work tidying up Chinatown, in order to quiet the fears of people who, being a long way off, were greatly concerned about it. The Merchants' Association also suggested, and the suggestion was followed up by the Mercantile Joint Committee, that San Francisco remove Chinatown altogether, and make a park in its place.

This would be a large work, equaling in magnitude, when the sizes of the cities are considered, the clearing out of Mulberry Bend in New York City. Chinatown has been our great slum. We have never had the overcrowded tenement problem in San Francisco except among the Oriental population. And here all those light, air and sanitation problems that confront some cities in the eastern states and Europe are complicated and aggravated by the peculiar customs and strange vices of an Asiatic population large enough to maintain itself in a characteristically Asiatic manner. We have not attempted to decide whether we have the plague or not, but we have long known the affliction of Chinatown, and now the time seems opportune

to get rid of it. Steps are being taken to that end, and the more public-spirited of our newspapers are assisting.

A law to permit the organization of a separate court for the trial of juvenile offenders has been passed, and San Francisco will soon have such a court in operation. This will remove the reproach that justly lies against any city permitting children to be confined in jails and prisoners' docks with criminals.

More or less good work for the city has been done by the various organizations of a quasi-public character. The North Central Improvement Association has been beneficially active in the district north of Market and east of Kearney streets, where it has exerted its influence to improve paving, sidewalks, lighting and similar items. The Federation of Mission Im-

Civic Associations and Improvement Clubs. improvement Clubs has looked after the interests of its end of the town. The North End Club and the Polk Street Club and several others, amounting to some fifteen in all, have been useful in keeping the supervisors awake to the needs of various local districts. Unfortunately, however, such organizations limit their public spirit to their own particular neighborhood. The work of the California Outdoor Art League and of the California Club, is of a broader scope. The League is composed of ladies who are interested in the beautifying of the city and the preservation of its natural esthetic advantages, and who by reason of their social station exert a considerable influence. There are six organizations of a mercantile character, or representative of the business interests of the city. These are the Board of Trade, Chamber of Commerce, Merchants' Exchange, Merchants' Association, Manufacturers' and Producers' Association, and the California Promotion Committee. Though these, and the improvement clubs as well, have certain definite commercial purposes, most of them are capable of uniting forces on occasion into a formidable body of public sentiment, and it is hoped that in time they may come into the habit of acting more often in concert, and thus promote a greater social solidarity and a more vigorous civic pride, two things in which San Francisco has been until lately, sadly lacking.

The Merchants' Association, with a membership of 1,266,

is the largest of these bodies, and in municipal affairs has been the most influential. It was instrumental, to a great extent, in securing the new charter. Its secretary was the secretary of the Board of Free-holders that had the framing of the charter in charge, and was the first president of the Civil Service Commission. The association's former president was active in all the charter conventions, and has taken a leading part in the development of the modern city.

The association undertook to give San Francisco clean streets in the business district. Up to that time the cobble-stone pavements of San Francisco had probably been the dustiest in the world, and its breezes on that account the most disagreeable. The association went into the work actively, put in a bid for sweeping the streets at cost, secured the contract, and for eight months performed the work in a way fit to be a model for any city in the country. Then having shown what might be done, it relinquished the work to private contractors. The streets of San Francisco are cleaner to-day for the activity of the Merchants' Association, although not yet half as clean as they should be.

Recently the Merchants' Association undertook to furnish two needed object lessons to San Francisco in the line of material equipment. The city had never possessed any public toilet accommodations, and had never built in its streets any of those conveniences and protections to pedestrians at street crossings known abroad as isles of safety. For about \$5,000 the association has constructed and equipped on Union Square, in the heart of the shopping district, an underground public toilet, built of white enameled brick, equipped with the most modern fixtures, and divided into separate compartments for men and women. On Market street, where traffic has become badly congested since the late expansion of the city, the association has put in an isle of safety, fifty feet long and six wide, equipped at the ends with stone buffers and seats, and placed at the proper distance from the car tracks to facilitate its use as a street-railway station as well as an aid to people crossing the street. This has cost a little over \$500. Both structures have

been presented to the city, in the hope that the municipality will reproduce them at other points where they are needed.

In conclusion, it may be said that while municipal conditions in San Francisco are far better than they were before the adoption of the charter, there is still much to be desired, and some danger of a relapse. If we can sustain the awakened public interest in the city as a city, and prevent the government falling into the hands of political schemers, much may be done. The present program of improvement is a good one. With new schools, a better hospital, a scientific sewer system, more parks and boulevards, and the execution of such plans as the improvement of Telegraph Hill, a beautiful height covered with hovels, which ought to be the city's chief adornment, San Francisco will take her proper place as one of the most attractive cities of the modern world.

Municipal Government in the Philippines*

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The importance of municipal government in colonies exceeds, by far, the natural importance adhering to the careful

**Importance
of Municipal
Government in
the Colonies.** and efficient management of local affairs; for the local governments must be looked upon, not only as organs for the administration of local affairs, but also as the only effective school in which the people of the dependencies may learn to master the art of self-government. As in the evolution of the civilized state, the city stage of Greece, Rome and the Middle Ages is of the utmost importance, because first dealing with public affairs upon a truly communal basis; and, as the modern national state with its democratic ideals of government is an outgrowth of this city organization, so we cannot expect the populations of the colonies to step immediately into the full fruition of all the most advanced governmental institutions. They, too, must receive their training in the lesser units; and when they have acquired the art of efficient management of their own affairs in these narrower spheres, we may then reasonably hope that representative and popular institutions may be successfully extended over wider areas.

As the American legislation in the Philippines, while approaching all questions with independence of spirit, has still wisely refrained from disregarding Spanish experience, it will be well to cast a brief glance at the Spanish system before 1898. In the year 1893 the Spanish government, in response

* Last year Colonel Edwards, Chief of the Insular Bureau, prepared an elaborate account and digest of the municipal legislation in the Philippine Islands. On the basis of this and of other information, Professor Reinsch prepared this paper; for the opinions and conclusions expressed therein he is, however, solely responsible.—EDITOR.

The Spanish Municipal System. to insistent demands for reform, had granted a new system of local municipal government. This system is contained in the Maura Law. The three aspects under which it may best be viewed are representation, fiscal responsibility, and the

influence of the village priest. The civil provinces of the Philippines were divided into local units called *pueblos*, each being an area comprising several villages, with a head town or village in which various public buildings, such as the church, the monastery, the town hall, and sometimes a school, are situated. The affairs of the pueblo were administered by the tribunal or town council, an elective body composed of the municipal captain and three lieutenants. The matter of election and representation was arranged as follows: An electorate, composed of former municipal officeholders and of all persons paying an annual land tax of at least \$50, elected a college of twelve delegates (the delegates of the *principalia*). This college appointed the municipal tribunal and the heads of the hundred (*cabezas de barangay*) and exercised, together with the village priest, a general supervision over the local administration. The municipal authorities were strictly responsible to the provincial governor and to the governor-general of the archipelago. The former had the right to dismiss any member of any municipal tribunal in his province, or even the entire council, if their action appeared to him to be contrary to the common welfare. Moreover, the entire financial administration of the pueblos was strictly supervised by the provincial council. All revenues collected in a pueblo had to be paid into the provincial treasury, from which moneys needed for the purpose of local administration could be drawn by proper warrant. No expenditure exceeding \$400 could be incurred without the previous consent of the governor, and at the conclusion of every fiscal period the accounts of the municipality were subjected to audit by the provincial authorities. The village priest was an advisory member of the local government; no important act could be undertaken without obtaining his advice. His position as a representative of the church and of a powerful order, his connection with the authorities at Manila, and

the fact that in many cases he was the only person in the pueblo familiar with the Spanish language, gave the local priest great practical authority. Seven of the larger towns were provided with a special form of government under an alcalde and an *ayuntamiento* or city council, and the municipality of Manila was governed under the provisions of a special royal decree of January 19, 1894. The municipal councils in these larger towns were appointed by the provincial governor or the governor-general respectively, the system of representation and election not being used in these cases.

The military rule of the American occupation was remarkable in two respects. In the first place, it was noteworthy for the successful adaptation of military organization and military positions to the purposes and functions of civil government. Under the American Military Rule. administration of the provost marshal general in Manila, the brigade organization was applied directly to carrying out the municipal government, the adjutant-general performing the duties of city clerk, the brigade paymaster acting as disbursing officer, etc. In the second place, the local governments established under the military régime were exceedingly simple in structure and rested upon election and representation. The General Orders, No. 43, issued August 8, 1899, provided for the following organization. In each town there was to be established a municipal council, composed of a president and a representative for each of the wards or *barrios*. The president was elected by a *viva voce* vote of the adult male residents of the town, with the approval of the commanding officer. The head men of the wards were elected in the same manner in the respective *barrios*. This order was professedly temporary. In January, 1900, there was appointed a board composed of three army officers acting as associate judges of the Supreme Court (Audiencia), the native attorney-general, and the president of the Audiencia, Cayetano Arellano, for the purpose of formulating a general plan of municipal government for the Islands. The system worked out by this board is contained in the General Orders, No. 40, of March 29, 1900, and forms the basis of the system soon after adopted by the Philippine Com-

mission in its Municipal Code. General Orders, No. 40, were not in operation for a long time, as upon the arrival of the second Philippine Commission they were suspended until further investigation could be made. The system they contained was submitted to general discussion and was finally, in a modified and enlarged form, embodied in the Municipal Code of the Commission, Act No. 82, passed on January 21, 1901. As the main features of the General Orders, No. 40, have thus become embodied in the code, we shall not discuss the orders separately, but here simply desire to emphasize that the present Municipal Code is the result of careful expert investigation.

The first striking characteristic of the Philippine Municipal Code is that it makes no distinction between urban and rural local government, and applies to all the larger towns with the exception of Manila, as well as to The Philippine Municipal Code. the purely rural communities. The pueblos are now designated as *municipios*, or municipalities. They are divided into *barrios* or wards, and the latter may for administrative purposes be grouped into districts. The municipality is administered by a president, a vice-president and a municipal council, all elected for a term of two years. The electorate is based upon the following qualifications: (a) the holding of municipal office prior to 1898; (b) the ownership of real property to the value of 500 pesos or the annual payment of thirty pesos of taxes; (c) ability to speak, read and write English or Spanish. Any one of these three,—the official, the property, or the educational qualification,—is sufficient for suffrage.

The president of the municipality has the power to appoint, with the consent of the majority in the council, the municipal treasurer, the municipal secretary, and other officers and employees. He holds a court to The Officers of the Municipality. adjudge violations of public ordinances and issues the necessary executive orders. He may veto ordinances adopted by the municipal council, but such ordinances may then be passed by a two-thirds vote in the council. As a symbol of his office and dignity he is authorized to carry "a black cylindrical cane, with a gold head, a gilt ferule, and silver cord and tassels." The functions of the municipal council are

divided into obligatory and optional powers. The obligatory functions are the following: the establishment of fire limits, the construction and care of streets and the lighting thereof, the collection and disposal of garbage and the general enforcement of sanitary conditions, the establishment of markets and the inspection of comestibles, the establishment of a police department and of provisions against gambling and opium joints, the licensing and regulation of the selling of liquors, the prohibition of cruelty to animals, the establishment and maintenance of schools, and the levying of municipal taxes. Among the optional functions the following may be mentioned: the municipal council is empowered to make provision for the care of the poor, the sick and the insane, to construct and maintain water-works, to establish higher and professional institutions of learning, to license or prohibit cock-fighting, and to impose license fees upon public carriages, hotels, theaters, etc. The principal sources of municipal taxation are the following: An *ad valorem* tax on land and buildings, a part of which must be

Municipal Taxation. devoted exclusively to the support of free public schools; license taxes for theatrical performances, horse races, the selling of liquors, cock-fighting, etc.; rents and tolls from municipal property; and various fees. The municipal councils are not empowered to levy *octroi* taxes, but by the provisions of Act No. 527, of November 19, 1902, one-half of the industrial tax, the stamp tax, and all other taxes known as inland revenue taxes is paid into the treasuries of the respective municipalities in which they are collected. An authorized estimate, of the expenses of the municipality for the current year must be submitted to the provincial treasurer. If he shall find that the taxes levied will produce the estimated revenue and that the expenditures provided for will not exceed the estimate, he shall approve the report. If, however, a shortage is probable the report will be returned to the municipal council with directions to reduce the expenditures. A complete statement of the municipal accounts for the preceding calendar year must be prepared by the municipal treasurer in January and forwarded to the provincial treasurer for the purpose of audit. All municipal taxes are

collected by the provincial treasurer or his deputies and are turned over by him within one week of the date of collection to the municipal treasurer.

When we compare this system established by the Commission with the Spanish system we discover the following points of contrast: The electoral franchise has been considerably extended by a lowering of the tax-paying franchise and the introduction of the educational qualification; the farming of taxes has been entirely abolished and taxation on land, which under the Spaniards was a secondary and incidental source of revenue, has been made the principal source of municipal income; the authority of the village priest in municipal affairs has been discontinued; the control which the provincial governor exercises over the municipalities has been modified so as to give the municipal councils greater latitude in the matter of expenditure, although a strict audit of municipal accounts is still maintained.

Although the Municipal Code establishes the normal system for the Islands, it is applied only where the conditions warrant.

Special Legislation. Special acts have been passed to provide for more backward regions and populations. Such are Act No. 387, establishing a special form of local government in Nueva Vizcaya, and Acts Nos. 547 to 550, providing for the appointment of local officials among the Negritos.

The government of the City of Manila is provided for by a special charter, the Act No. 183, passed on July 31, 1901. On account of the peculiar conditions of Manila as a large seaport with a mixed population and as the seat of the Insular Government, it was considered necessary to give the city a distinctive organization. This organization was modeled, to some extent, upon the government at Washington, D. C., and it will be possible in the future to institute some very interesting comparisons between these two rather anomalous municipalities of the American system.

The Philippine Commission acts as the constituent legislature of the City of Manila. For the government of the city, it has established a municipal board consisting of three members appointed by the civil governor with the consent of the

Commission. This board has full power to make ordinances necessary for the government and administration of the public affairs of Manila. The following departments of city administration have, so far, been established: 1. The Department of Engineering and Public Works; 2. The Police Department; 3. The Law Department; 4. The Department of Fires and Buildings Inspections; 5. The Department of Assessments and Collection; 6. The Department of City Schools. In order to save machinery, the insular auditor, the insular treasurer and the insular purchasing agent act also for the City of Manila, while the sanitary system of the city is under the control of the Insular Board of Health. Although the act does not establish any elective municipal offices, it provides for the establishment of

No Elective Offices. an advisory board, appointed by the civil governor and consisting of one member from each

of the eleven city districts. The purpose of the advisory board is to bring to the attention of the municipal board the special needs of the city and its inhabitants. Ordinances involving the liability of the city in a sum exceeding \$10,000 must first be submitted to the advisory board for discussion. The functions of the latter are, however, as its name implies, purely advisory, and it has no power to initiate or veto legislation. The principal source of municipal revenue in Manila are the land tax, the industrial tax, and licenses. The Insular Government pays 30 per cent of the expenses of the city. During the fiscal period from August, 1901, to September, 1902, the total expenditures of the city amounted to \$1,839,678. By the Philippine Act of Congress of June, 1902, the Philippine Commission was empowered to issue bonds to the amount of \$4,000,000 for the purpose of obtaining a healthy water-supply for the city.

By Act No. 484, passed October, 1902, the Philippine Commission provided for the granting of a franchise for an electric street railway and an electric lighting plant. The franchise is to be granted in open competition, and bids are to specify the maximum fares to be collected and a percentage of the gross income to be paid over to the municipality. A large deposit is required to secure compliance with the provisions

of the franchise, and the municipality reserves the right to acquire the property of the grantee at the end of twenty-five years.

While the system of local government has been in operation for too short a period to allow of any generalizations as to its success, it will be recognized that it constitutes an exceedingly interesting experiment. Oriental peoples are apt in matters of local government, but they do not take readily to western methods of election and representation; they would rather allow the village elders or notables the decisive voice in their affairs.

Results. The action of the Philippine government in giving a wide latitude to the local administration is in accordance with Oriental principles, but the machinery is alien to the Orient, and students of political institutions will watch with interest the operation of this system. The large foreign population of Manila, and the total want of acquaintance of the native population with sanitary regulations, makes the task of governing Manila an especially difficult one. When we add the fact, apparent from the reports of the police department, that a very undesirable element has accompanied the American army and officials, we can easily picture the perplexities of an administration struggling with the ignorance and apathy of the native masses, the rusefulness of the Chinese, and the vicious proclivities of American gamblers and "toughs." The grant of greater powers of self-government in Manila may, under existing conditions, have to be postponed for a considerable time. But, in general, it may be said that a wise and conservative course has been taken, that, in the matter of local government, innovations have not been recklessly forced upon the people, and that the Commission has acted in accordance with their instructions which enjoined it to "bear in mind that the government which you are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands."

The Federation of Civic Forces— City, State and National

By J. HORACE MCFARLAND

President American League for Civic Improvement

At this time argument is scarcely needed as to the effectiveness of combined effort. Combination is no longer on trial, and the lament of the small merchant at the absorption of his trade by the great emporium is simply another form of the lament of the stage-coach driver at the taking of his passengers by the railroad. The well-managed "trust," so-called, is a better business proposition and a better public servant, for it eliminates the waste of uncoördinated effort, and the world is moving in the line of such elimination.

Proper civic effort is, primarily, unselfish effort. It is work for the many by the few. It is, in effect, government of the people, for the people, but not by all the people,—for the immortal declaration of democracy which I have just twisted is nowhere a reality. The true democracy would so act, but we busy Americans will not operate a true democracy, and we have permitted, by our own neglect, the formation of many hateful oligarchies to make purely popular government a mere academic theory among us.

Thorough civic federation means the moral, if not the actual, control of the municipal governments of America—and the United States is now, by divine intention, preparing to become all America, north and south, I firmly believe. Such federation will centralize thought upon all problems that have to do with the administration of government, and upon all public utilities; it will compare and consider all laws for each community, bringing uniformity where uniformity is best, and intelligent differences to meet local needs wherever required.

Complete civic federation will thus go far beyond the pres-

ent ideals of many of us. The properly used elective check will prevent abuse of power, even if consciousness of power does not itself purify the men who wield it. Citizens will exercise the franchise more cheerfully and more completely when it counts more fully and more intimately against actual administration.

But it will be said that I am a dreamer, that the very idea is Utopian. Let us look back to the early days of railroads, when, to travel a hundred miles, four or five separate and distinct railroads had to be used, often with changes of cars. Did the little railroad companies yield cheerfully to the idea of combination? Far from it. The formation of a great system was a slow process of acquirement, met continually with bitter opposition. But the combinations have justified themselves as fully as any combination for private gain possibly can. It is the same with other great industries, and even the bad combinations only prove the effectiveness of the plan, for they cannot successfully rob the public unless they are effective!

There are, I believe, some forty known general organizations dealing with civics in various forms. Some are ethical, some administrative, some philanthropic, some artistic, some political. These organizations are effective or ineffective usually as they have strong or weak officers, or scanty or sufficient support. That they all have good and proper aims is undeniable; that these aims could be better fostered by thorough federation, I firmly believe; and that such federated civic effort, as it became fully effective and as efficient as a great railroad system is in handling diverse problems, would point the way toward the far greater governmental problem at which I have hinted, is no less probable.

I will, later, describe a plan for a Civic Alliance, to which I hope this body will fully subscribe. It is only a step in the right direction, and the goal lies many steps farther on. Some of these steps will be painful, probably, to some of us who are deeply interested in and in control of beneficent local and national organizations. That we will take the steps as

light appears to guide our feet in the true path, I fully believe, for we are all unselfish workers for the good of a great people.

Some organizations will need to be entirely eliminated as useless under the eventual scheme of wasteless civic effort; some will continue as agencies for work under central direction, as effective branches of the great main line,—to use again the railroad comparison.

There will arise a great personality, or several personalities, to direct this movement that means, in the highest sense, the making of America a better place to live in. No broad and proper national movement has long lacked a head, and we Americans breed war presidents and great generals of finance and commerce in a day, sometimes. The man to fully formulate this gospel of civic righteousness, high of aim and pure of heart, will arise to his work, and he will lead the forces of good to such victory as is permitted to mere human effort.

Meanwhile, it behooves all workers in the field, along all lines that make for better living conditions, to be active and efficient; for the period of preparation must pass, and the work of the minor prophets must have its effect, before the time is ripe for the greater prophet in the Israel of our magnificent country, with its foundations of justice, equality and liberty.

But, to come to details, we must begin the movement for federation with the units of the forward movement, the local leagues and societies in our towns and cities.
One or Many Bodies. Speaking broadly, one organization for civic betterment is enough in any city. Under proper handling, its field of effort may reach in every possible direction for the improvement or conservation of public possessions. It may well be prepared for political action—indeed, it must be, if it is to meet successfully the forces of private gain and of public evil, which hasten to take refuge in partisan politics.

I may perhaps be pardoned a reference to the Municipal Harrisburg League of Harrisburg, not because it is especially extensive, but because it has fortunately been projected and organized from the very start upon the idea of combining effort, without waste, and

upon that idea has accomplished much work. At its inception, there was in existence a Civic Club of women, which promptly recognized the opportunity for acting through this central organization, meanwhile fully preserving its own entity, and taking excellent care of the work it could do better than any men's society.

This Harrisburg League operates under a broad statement of purpose, which I can do no better than quote, calling attention to its full permission, without specific statement, to take part in political work, if necessary "to secure the choice of competent officials."

"The purposes of this League shall be:

"First.—To induce citizens and taxpayers to take a more active and earnest part in municipal affairs.

"Second.—To disseminate instructive information relative to the government of Harrisburg.

"Third.—To devise and advocate plans for its improvement.

"Fourth.—To promote the businesslike, honest and efficient conduct of the public offices within the city of Harrisburg.

"Fifth.—To secure the choice of competent officials.

"Sixth.—To encourage the faithful performance of public duties.

"Seventh.—To secure the enactment and enforcement of laws for the economical, intelligent and progressive management of the affairs of the city government."

The organization of the League provides an executive committee of seven, with extensive powers, to conduct its affairs. This committee appoints committees of co-operation on various interests, including in each such body one member of the executive committee, to keep it in touch with the central organization.

I want to call attention to an interesting fact, bearing strongly on this subject, and evidenced in the experience of the Harrisburg organization. It is that there arises an exaggerated but by no means undesirable idea of the strength and importance of the Municipal League, among politicians especially. It is in no sense unfortunate to have politicians and paving contractors fearing such an organization, and I feel safe in saying that its efficiency may be doubled by this condition of affairs, under proper handling.

There is this danger in the centralized local or general organization—that if its executive officers become ineffective or inattentive, the whole movement “goes to sleep.” On the contrary, if these officers are reasonably vigilant and active, a great increase of power may well be obtained through sympathetic and intelligent work and effort directly with the city officials in charge of important public interests. Too often the civic organization is conceived in condemnation and brought forth in objurgation, losing dignity and opportunity by blindly abusing those officials whose acts it does not like. From the very outset, our Harrisburg League has endeavored to assist **Information** and inform and sustain worthy officials, and to **and Sustenance.** show unworthy men the way to public esteem and confidence. We have never pursued the familiar, but notoriously ineffective, Philadelphia Academy of Music plan of passing “ringing” resolutions which spasmodically warm up both the audience and the officials, but have no permanent effect on either. Nothing is easier than to condemn; destructive criticism blows freely from a million mouths. Constructive criticism, courteously made to the persons or bodies directly affected, is at the very base of proper civic effort, whether it be city, state or national in its scope.

Federation in state effort seems entirely practicable, without causing those joining in it to lose identity or their national relations. It is needed sorely; a working state **State Federation.** federation of all civic bodies would be able to begin intelligent, concerted effort toward cleaning up such a great but boss-ridden state as Pennsylvania, for instance. The women manage it well. I had the privilege not long since of addressing the eastern section of the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women, at which twenty-two cities and towns, and fully fifty societies, were represented. Intelligent discussion was had concerning many subjects, including forestry, manual training in public schools, sanitation about the home, and the billboard nuisance. An active state organization could certainly be made a great agency for promoting civic righteousness.

In national work, the first step toward an efficient co-ordination of civic effort seems to be presented in the plan for the formation of a Civic Alliance, resulting from the action of a federation committee representing several national organizations. This plan, drafted in the main by Mr. Charles Mulford Robinson and your own secretary, Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, is set forth in the suggested constitution which follows. This constitution, now submitted for discussion in the hope that the National Municipal League will resolve to assist in the formation of, and seek connection with, the Civic Alliance, is by no means so far-reaching as it might be. It goes as far, however, I suppose, as the present state of progress will permit, and should result in a great help to the good work. I do not attempt to discuss it, believing that those who will follow upon this subject will be better able than myself to present to you its merits or its defects.

In urging upon the National Municipal League, which has to its credit so much achievement in the way of enlightenment upon the political and administrative relations of our great cities, some discussion and action upon the subject of federation, I am moved to call attention to the greatness of the movement for better conditions all over the country. The people are arousing to their needs, their responsibilities, their opportunities, and the necessity for wise guidance was never so plain as now. The press is taking up the improvement question, many of the greater magazines, as well as the daily papers, presenting various phases of the movement at considerable length. The Civic Week arranged for at the great Chautauqua Assembly by the American League for Civic Improvement, to begin July 13 of this year, is pregnant with far-reaching possibilities, in its opportunity for consultation and coördination of effort. In every direction the good movement gathers strength, and it behooves all of us who, having recognized the need and the opportunity, are accordingly responsible, to push the work forward with intelligence and devotion, until the greater America shall stand, cleansed and in its right mind, beautiful and sightly, as well as free and happy,—a model for all nations.

PROPOSED CONSTITUTION OF THE CIVIC ALLIANCE

The name of this federation shall be the Civic Alliance.

Its object shall be the establishment of a central office in touch with civic effort in all parts of the country, affording a common bureau of information, open to the accredited officers of all co-operating societies, to the individual members of the Alliance, and to the general public under such conditions as may be hereafter determined.

Name and Object. The design is to bring about a federation of existing organizations, to be supported financially by public-spirited individuals, who perceive in such an Alliance the opportunity to eliminate duplication of effort, and to secure a greater efficiency than is now possible.

The membership of the Alliance shall be made up of national organizations, of local organizations, and of individuals.

Membership. The national organizations shall be enrolled as Co-operating Societies. Local organizations and individuals shall be enrolled as Patrons and Subscribers.

Co-operating Societies shall be such national organizations as may accept invitation to enter the Alliance. Each shall appoint one of its members to act on the Board of Trustees of the Alliance, and shall as far as practicable supply the General Secretary with: (1), complete files of its literature; (2), copies of its current publications, as these appear; (3), a complete roll of its members, officers and committees, with corrections as changes occur. Any Co-operating Society may, further, with the approval of the Board of Trustees and on such financial and other terms as may be agreed to by the Co-operating Society and the Board of Trustees, issue its own literature, and carry on its general correspondence through the office of the General Secretary of the Alliance. Such suggested relations between a Co-operating Society and the Alliance shall be purely voluntary on the former's part, and a result of its own initiative. All Co-operating Societies shall share in the advan-

tages of the central clearing-house, to which their accredited officers shall have free access for information. They shall receive copies of reports and literature issued by the Alliance.

A Patron shall be any person who at any one time contributes \$1,000 or more to the Alliance. Patrons shall receive the annual publications of the Alliance, shall be entitled to vote for Trustees, and at least one of their number shall be a member of the Board of Trustees. The amount received from Patrons shall constitute a separate fund, to be known as the Trustees' fund, and the Treasurer shall keep this distinct from the general funds of the Alliance, and shall invest it with the approval of the Board of Trustees. The disposition of this fund, as to principal and interest, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Trustees, but no expenditure of the fund may be made for current expenses, except by an affirmative vote of three-fourths of the whole Board of Trustees. The names of Patrons shall be published in each annual report of the Alliance, and those who become Patrons before the first election shall be designated as Founders.

Subscribers shall be local societies and individuals, who contribute \$25 or more. They shall receive the annual publications of the Alliance, shall have during the twelve months following their subscriptions the benefit of its bureau of information, and their names shall be published in the annual report of the year for which they subscribe. They shall be entitled to vote for the elective members of the Board of Trustees.

The Board of Trustees shall be composed of the officers of the Alliance, who shall be members ex-officio; of one representative from each Co-operating Society, to be appointed annually by the Society; and of one Patron, and of one Trustee to twenty Subscribers, the latter members of the Board to be elected annually, from the list of Patrons and Subscribers, by the votes of the Patrons and Subscribers. They shall be elected in the first instance from a list nominated by the representatives of the Co-operating Societies. After their election, which shall be on a date announced in advance to those invited to subscribe, the

President shall appoint a nominating committee of members from the Board of Trustees, and this nominating committee shall make the nominations of Trustees to be elected at the second annual meeting. In addition to the Trustees nominated and elected in this way, any Co-operating Society that may contribute \$50 or more to the Alliance in any one year, otherwise than in payment for special services, may have for that year a second representative on the Board of Trustees, this representative to be designated by the Co-operating Society. It shall be the duty of the Trustees to pass upon all expenditures by the Alliance, to audit the accounts of the Treasurer and General Secretary, to have charge of the Trustees' fund hereinbefore described, and to direct the policy of the Alliance. The Board shall hold quarterly meetings; but shall adopt its own by-laws for the conduct of its business.

The Officers of the Civic Alliance shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer, and a General Secretary. They shall be elected annually by the Trustees.

The General Secretary shall be elected annually by the vote of the Trustees. He shall be the administrative officer.

Officers. He shall submit quarterly statements of the work of his office to the Board of Trustees, and an annual report, to be read at the annual meeting of the Trustees. He shall also issue a monthly Bulletin of Information, this to be sent to the Secretaries of the Co-operating Societies, and to the officers of the Alliance. He shall conduct the general correspondence of the Alliance, and shall so compile reports, information, the membership lists, and literature of Co-operating Societies, that these shall be convenient for reference. He shall prepare an annual report, and, when it has been approved by the Board of Trustees, he shall include it in the annual publication of the Alliance, which he shall edit. He shall perform such other duties as may be hereafter prescribed by the resolutions of the Trustees. He shall have such assistance as the Board of Trustees deem necessary.

The Federation of Civic Societies

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The city is a purely modern development. This statement is made confidently in the face of the fact that there have been in the past some very large aggregations of people which were called cities and which had many of the essential characteristics of such collections of interests. They were, however, very few in number, their government was peculiar, the conditions of life of most of the inhabitants were unbearable according to modern standards, and the population was largely supported by the taxes and imposts laid upon outer lands and conquered territories by the ruling powers, who collected their supporters and servants together into a single locality under their despotic sway.

Cities a Modern Development.

The city is so modern that the government of a city is very largely an American development, and American cities in most respects are the best governed and are in the best condition of any cities in the world. Doubtless attacks will be made upon this statement, and examples of apparently better conditions and better forms of government will be taken from foreign countries, particularly Germany, England and France. But such exceptions included, the statement is true of the average of foreign and American cities, and is very nearly true if made of the average conditions of any two individual American and foreign cities.

This development has been very rapid and in spite of many serious defects in methods, showing that the public conscience on the whole can be depended upon and that the average of citizenship is comparatively high, much higher than the widely advertised deficiencies of many individual municipal officials would lead one to believe. The development has cost a vast amount of money. That much of this money has been wasted,

or worse than wasted, is undeniable. Doubtless everything would have moved much slower if this country had not been in the early stages of its development, with unlimited resources which were brought into use so rapidly that waste was sometimes true economy. Methods of administration and expenditure, terms of franchises and contracts, which are satisfactory under such conditions, become unbearable later when the population to be supported approximates closer to that which the country or district is capable of supporting. This country is now entering upon this later stage, and greater economy of operation is yearly becoming a greater necessity.

It is hardly a dozen years since the objectionable tendencies of many municipal methods and the expense of the unscientific operation of municipal departments received recognition sufficient to lead to organized effort to improve the existing conditions. Within four or five years

Objectionable Tendencies. several different societies were started by persons who saw different conditions which needed improvement. Thus one began for the purpose of disseminating among the directors of public works the information which each had gathered in the course of his individual work, so that all could receive the benefit of the experiments of each; one began with the study of improvements in the fundamental system of city government, the city charter, continuing its efforts into various details; one saw the defects of the methods of conducting public service industries both under public and under private ownership and has spent much time upon that topic; one saw the

Municipal Organizations. needs of the cities in the way of adornment and is working upon that line; one takes up the question of municipal ownership of public service industries; several devote themselves to special branches of the public service, such as water-works, lighting, electric railways, and so on. Thus nearly all the municipal questions are under consideration by one or more societies; some by experts from the practical and technical standpoints; some from the theoretical standpoint; some from that of the politician; some from that of the taxpayer; some from that of the administrators of public affairs; some from that of the public-spirited citizen

free from political entanglements or from connection with the actual work.

It is evident that the fields of these societies overlap, and to the casual observer it would seem that they are sometimes duplicating their work. This is not the case, **Overlapping.** however, for the reason that, while the subject may be the same, the points of view and the methods of treatment are usually entirely different. Thus the League of American Municipalities and the Society of Municipal Electricians may treat the subject of electric lighting, but one may consider it from the standpoint of the capitalist, the board of directors, the consumer, while the other is likely to devote its attention to the details of installation, operation, inspection or examination. A careful study of the proceedings of many of the societies under consideration leads one to the opinion that there is little waste of effort in duplication and that the points of view and methods of work are so different that, with very few exceptions, amalgamation of two or more societies might easily result in the withdrawal of the membership of the weaker, or the loss of interest by members of both.

As the representative of the American Society of Municipal Improvements, selected by your secretary, it is my duty to state as nearly as I can the point of view of that organization, though, as I do not agree fully with the expression of the board of trustees of the society, my own inclinations may influence the statement, so that it will not be strictly in accordance with the views of the board, of which I was a member in 1902.

In the annual address of President E. A. Fisher at the last annual convention in Rochester in October, 1902, will be found

The American Society of Municipal Improvements. a statement of the field of the society, from which the following is taken :

"The work of the society at present is divided into eleven subdivisions, under the following heads : Street paving, electric street lighting, sewerage and sanitation, disposition of garbage and street cleaning, water-works and water-supply, municipal data, park development and maintenance, taxation and assessment, city government and legislation, municipal franchises, and review.

"So far as I am aware, there is no national society or association except this one that considers the subject of street paving, sewerage and sanitation, and disposition of garbage and street cleaning.

"In the matter of electric street lighting, the International Association of Municipal Electricians also takes up this subject, as do the various societies connected with the private electric corporations in the country. In the matter of water-works and water-supply, the American Water-works Association has for a number of years maintained a very successful national organization dealing with this subject. There are also several associations more or less local, among which are the New England Water-works Association and the Central States Water-works Association, both of which have done excellent work in this field.

"In the matter of taxation and assessment this society has had eight papers and reports. Taken altogether, they are the most valuable contributions to this important subject that have been offered anywhere. I know of no other society that has made a specialty of this subject.

"In the matter of city government and legislation we have had five interesting and valuable papers. It seems to me, however, that for the future this subject might in the main be left to the consideration of the League of American Municipalities, as it is a subject which, it seems to me, is more appropriate to a society made up largely from the legislative departments than to a society of executive municipal officers.

"In the matter of municipal franchises, we have had one paper previous to this meeting, and have now a valuable contribution in the form of a report from our former President, Robert E. McMath, of St. Louis. This branch, it seems to me, may also be, perhaps, better left to the League of American Municipalities.

"In the matter of park development and maintenance, there is a number of associations dealing with this subject, the most prominent probably being the American Park and Outdoor Art Association.

"In the matter of municipal data and statistics, a large

number of societies are dealing with this same subject, and it is one in which all are interested.

"This society has, during the nine years of its existence, adhered closely to the practical program laid down in its original constitution. It has done valuable work in a field heretofore unoccupied. It has accomplished much in securing a greater uniformity in the specifications now in use by cities in its membership, and also in the forms of their annual reports. It has, by reports of committees and original papers presented and discussed at its annual conventions, disseminated a vast amount of information in the various details of municipal work, which has resulted in better and more economical work in the same cities. It has been my privilege to attend six of the annual conventions of this society as a delegate from this city, and I can therefore speak from a personal knowledge of the influence of its work. A number of honored and loyal members who, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of American politics, have been with the society since its inception, have publicly corroborated these views of the work of the society.

"Did the cities of America realize the value of associations as do the great private corporations, membership in this society and attendance upon its meetings would be a part of the official duty of the executive officers in charge of public work or service."

Not all the members of the society agree with Mr. Fisher in the suggestion that certain subjects, which he mentions, shall be dropped from the list to be considered at the society meetings, for they think the point of view of this society is so different that valuable additions to the discussions of these subjects can be made by its members, even if they are not technical experts in the lines mentioned.

The possible waste of effort in duplication of work and the desire to secure the benefit of the discussion of municipal problems from all sides have probably led to the present effort to make some combination of societies which will enable any one who so desires to attend the meetings of all, and which will correlate these discussions, giving the conclusions greater unity

**Benefits and Dis-
advantages of
Combination.**

through the diversity of treatment. The advantages and disadvantages of such combination were discussed by members of the American Society of Municipal Improvements at Rochester, and some report of the points made in favor of and against the combination follows :

In the first place, it seemed to most of those participating in the discussion, that the differences in training and in points of view of the various societies are so great that, for example, a discussion of the subject of electric lighting would fail to interest any considerable portion of the audience. If the question of municipal ownership or control or private operation were discussed by theorists who base their arguments upon what should be the political conditions, it would not suit the practical politicians who wish to consider it from the point of view of the vote-getter and of the campaign fund ; nor would it be of great interest to the municipal electricians, who are interested in the problems of inspection of details nor to the electrical engineers, who are interested in the problems of construction and maintenance. It is evident that a discussion on any of the lines mentioned would interest but few outside the ranks to which the person preparing the paper belongs. Similar statements can be made regarding many other subjects which, by general title, are common to several societies, but in special treatment are almost entirely different in all of them. The point made is, that the attempt to combine into one society elements which are so very different will result in failure, because the interest will be so distributed that it cannot sustain the organization. This point was made definite in the case of this society by the statements that the members in general did not wish to extend the discussions of the subjects covered by the list of standing committees beyond the practical and technical phases which the society has been accustomed to consider, and was sustained by a vote of the board of trustees not to consider the proposed consolidation further this year.

This resolution seems to the writer of this paper to be based upon right principles, but there is another method of securing the benefits of the proposed consolidation which will retain the valuable features of the present highly specialized treatments of

the subjects of interest. This method was presented to the board of trustees of the American Society of Municipal Improvements for its consideration and is here proposed for consideration by this organization.

As already stated, there are but few in any one organization who will be interested in any large part of the proceedings of any other society, but there are very many who would find much of interest in several societies besides the one in which they are particularly at home. Any organization, therefore, which will attempt to force all to participate in the exercises of any one society will fail. Then, too, it is a physical impossibility to put all the programs into a week of convention, unless they are arranged independently and carried out with little or no reference to each other. Were all the society conventions to be held at the same time and place, under their own organizations and each with its own meeting place and program, each would be as independent as it is at present, each would proceed upon its own lines and in its own way. But members of each would be able to attend the sessions of others which were of special interest to them. Thus each would gain from all the others. The social features of all conventions are among the most valuable. The opportunity given to members of all the societies to come in contact with the leaders in other branches of their own subjects is invaluable and leads to greater unity of effort in all lines of municipal improvement and to more rapid advancement.

This leads directly to the suggestion of "the Federation of Civic Societies," which shall be an organization of organizations.

The Federation of Civic Societies. It must be the loosest possible kind of bond, simply an executive secretary to arrange details of local meeting places and accommodations and serve as a center of communication between the societies, and possibly a president to represent the interests of the combination in such formal manner as may seem desirable.

The only liberty which any society gives up under such a proposition is that of selecting time and place of meeting, and in this each has a voice according to its strength.*

*The plan as set forth in Mr. McFarland's paper does not include even this surrender.
—EDITOR.

What shall be the method of selecting secretary and president, as well as time and place of meeting, are details which are of importance. Possibly delegates chosen from the societies in proportion to membership or attendance at the convention could meet and make these selections. Possibly one combined session for these purposes would be more satisfactory.

There is no society now in existence exactly like the one proposed, but some ideas may be gathered from such organizations as the National Educational Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The former association is so large, and its interests are so numerous, that it has long been necessary to divide the sessions up into sections. Each day of the convention there is a general session held in a large convention hall, and the remainder of the day is occupied by the meetings of the sections, which discuss the special questions of interest to them. An independent organization in the same field meets on the three days preceding the main convention, to which meetings all are invited, but which are attended only by those who are interested in the class of problems pre-

Models for Federation. sents by the experts in this society. Besides the sections of the general association, there are independent societies in the same field, which, in the preparation of the program, and in the furnishing of accommodations for meetings, are on the same basis as the sections. The proceedings of the main convention and the sections, and also those of the preceding expert society, are published in one volume. The independent societies, meeting simultaneously with the large association, may publish their proceedings separately. Each person, in order to obtain the benefits of low railroad rates, must be a member of the general association at a cost of two dollars, which includes a copy of the large volume of proceedings. Each of the affiliated societies has its own standard of membership, its own dues and officers, and publishes its own proceedings. They are as independent as though they met at different times and places. In fact, one of them formerly met twice a year, one of the meetings being, for convenience, at the same time as that of the general association, and in the beginning being entirely without connection.

One section of the association also holds a meeting at another time of the year.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science has a similar organization, but somewhat more loosely held together, for it has more independent societies meeting at the same time and having little or no connection except as to time and city for meeting.

A secondary benefit of such a Federation of Civic Societies as is proposed is the reduction in railroad rates which can be obtained. Few, if any, of the societies which would be interested in such an organization have members enough *who pay their railroad fares* to secure the standard convention rates. The collection of the conventions into one city at one time, or in consecutive days, would make such reduction in rates certain. Membership in any one of the societies in the Federation should carry membership in the Federation, and a membership card issued by the secretary of the individual society and countersigned by the secretary of the Federation should secure such privileges.

One question for the future to settle is that of the classes of societies which will become members. Such organizations as the National Municipal League, the American League for Civic Improvements, The American Park and Outdoor Art Association, the League of American Municipalities, the American Society of Municipal Improvements, the International Society of Municipal Electricians, and the like, are made up almost entirely of municipal officials and of public-spirited citizens, who are more interested in the improvement of civic conditions. They consider civic problems, and such problems only.

The last two named are composed very largely of the directors of technical engineering work, and they differ in their treatment of subjects from the other societies named on this account. This difference is sufficient, in the opinion of some members, to make the affiliation of these societies with the others inadvisable; while others consider the method of treatment, though different, to be quite as valuable to many of the members of other societies as they are to these societies themselves, and that many discuss-

sions in the other societies are well worthy the close attention of the engineers. The American Society of Municipal Improvements began as a society of municipal officials, from mayors to councilmen and boards of public works to assistant engineers. Its early organization was in the hands of members of boards of public works, and it soon attracted the engineers and other technical employees of cities, so that it has largely eliminated the discussion of general municipal problems and spends its time upon those of the construction, repair and maintenance of municipal public works. It is on the border-line between societies of municipal officials and technical societies, and, so far as most of its membership is concerned, it could be classed with either. The society has evidently had a valuable experience in the consideration of municipal questions, and it recognizes the dangers of attempting to cover too many sides of a subject. It has learned from this experience to restrict its discussions to particular lines, which have turned out to be technical lines. This experience makes it slow to accept a proposition to combine with societies whose members are not considering the same questions in the same way. The Society of Municipal Electricians is of the same class, its field being restricted to one group of problems.

Societies of the nature of the first four mentioned will undoubtedly benefit by a coördination of their work. They would also benefit by the addition of the other two societies and their like. The latter societies would also derive benefits that would far outbalance any supposed disadvantages, provided the combination is not too intimate, and the individualities of the societies and their independence of action are not lost in the process. When the water-works societies, the electrical and other engineering societies are considered, the benefits to them and to the other societies mentioned are found to be much less apparent. Their membership may be largely made up of municipal employees, but there are many others, and their treatment of subjects is usually too technical to be satisfactory to the ordinary official. The American Society of Municipal Improvements and the International Society of Municipal Electricians are on the border-line, and probably mark the limit,

within which the combination must be made. The recent action of the former indicates that the benefits of the combination must be demonstrated more thoroughly than has yet been done before it will join in the movement.

If but two societies join in forming the Federation, they can show some of the benefits, and the problems of organization can be solved as they arise, so that the objections on this score may be kept at a minimum. The writer is a firm believer in the benefits of the proposed coördination of effort on such lines as have just been proposed for the Federation of Civic Societies, and would certainly include both the American Society of Municipal Improvements and the Society of Municipal Electricians. But if their coöperation cannot be secured at the start, he sees equal value for the societies participating in the Federation, and believes that the actual formation of the organization can be made to overcome the inertia of the objecting members of the societies which have thus far refused to move forward in this line.

Instruction in Municipal Government

By Professor JOHN A. FAIRLIE

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At the last two sessions of the National Municipal League the subject of instruction in municipal government has occupied an important place on the program. Papers were read at each of these meetings showing what was being done in the colleges and universities throughout the country, and urging the importance of instruction on this subject. Outlines of special courses in municipal government and lists of text and reference books have also been published as suggestions for institutions which wished to add this subject to their curriculum. But, as was pointed out a year ago, attention has been thus far confined to the work in universities and colleges ; and, indeed, was mainly directed toward advanced courses devoted exclusively to municipal government. At the last meeting of the League, however, it was decided to extend the work of the committee having the matter in charge to include the teaching of the principles of good city government in the public and private schools. It is with the subject as thus enlarged that I shall deal in this paper.

Most of my time and attention will be given to those aspects of the subject that have not hitherto been discussed at these meetings,—that is, to the more elementary instruction, both in schools and colleges. But I shall also say something of the more advanced and specialized work in the universities ; and of the correlation between the instruction in different grades of educational institutions.

Let me begin by making clear the distinction between the advanced special courses in municipal government such as have been heretofore outlined, and the more general instruction, of

which I shall speak in detail first. The special courses in municipal government are nowhere required courses, but everywhere electives, which appeal only to a part of the students in colleges and universities,—principally to those who specialize in political subjects. They are not taken, and it is not expected that they will be taken, by the large proportion of college students whose main interests lie in entirely distinct fields of study; while the much larger body of future citizens who receive no college education—even yet more than thirty times as numerous as those who do—have not even the opportunity to benefit by such courses as have been described. The more elementary instruction, now specifically urged, is that intended for both of these classes of students, to train them for the performance of their duties as citizens.

It will not be necessary to take much time to show that such elementary instruction is essential for the success and continued progress of good city government. Our municipal governments are based on a system of manhood suffrage; and good municipal government depends primarily on an intelligent exercise of

**Necessity for
Teaching
Fundamentals.** that suffrage. The necessity for teaching future voters the fundamental principles of American government is very generally acknowledged, even where the measures taken to do this work are most deficient. It needs, however, to be more clearly recognized than is now the case in many quarters, that the training of the future voters in our cities is by no means complete with a study of the Federal Constitution, or even of the national and state governments; but must also include a knowledge of that government which is nearest at hand and most largely affects the daily lives of the citizens,—the government of the city.

Two fundamental rules may be laid down for this elementary instruction in municipal government, both in schools and colleges. First, if the main object of reaching the large body of future voters is to be attained, the elementary instruction should not be given in a special course on municipal government; but must be included as part of a general course in government or politics, which every student should be at least expected to

take. Secondly, the emphasis in this general instruction must be laid, not so much on the forms of government, as on the functions of the officials and on the rights, responsibilities and duties of the citizens.

Of the specific nature of instruction in the elementary schools I shall say but little; as a lack of experience in this field leaves me incompetent to present details. It has seemed to me doubtful whether *systematic courses* in government can be taught to children below the high school age, in a way that will have much effect by the time the children reach the age to exercise political duties. It is, however, possible to give simple explanations of the duties and activities of those public agents somewhat familiar to the children, such as the policemen, school teachers and letter-carriers. And I may refer to an outline for work of this kind prepared by Mr. Harry W. Thurston, of the Chicago Normal School.

In the high schools and academies, however, it is clearly both possible and urgently advisable to give systematic instruc-

Systematic Instruction in High Schools. tion in civil government, including definite work in municipal government. In most of our secondary schools the more general subject has already established itself; but there is still need in some places for impressing on the school authorities the importance of this fundamental work. Even in the states of the middle west, nearly one-sixth of the public high schools give no work in civil government; while in other parts of the country the proportion of secondary schools where this subject is wholly neglected is much larger,—from one-fourth in the North Atlantic and far western states, to one-half in the South Atlantic group. At least one city of nearly 100,000 population gives no work in civil government in any of the public schools.

But while some attention is given to the general subject of government in most high schools, this seldom includes anything like adequate instruction in municipal government. To get some definite information as to what is now being done, I sent a brief series of inquiries to the schools in fifty of the most important cities in the United States. Answers have been received from thirty-

three of these, of which ten report very little or nothing in the way of instruction in municipal government; ten report somewhat more attention to the subject, but still an inadequate treatment; and thirteen,—about one-third of the cities reporting, and only one-fourth of the number of inquiries,—do work that may be considered reasonably good. Judging from these reports, the best work is that done in Boston, Cleveland and Detroit. It is surprising, however, to find some of the large cities in this country still using text-books in civil government which contain little or nothing more than an analysis of the Federal Constitution. One city of more than 100,000 population, four hundred miles from Ohio, uses a text-book with the State Constitution of Ohio instead of the state in which the city is located.

In view of these facts, there is an obvious need for impressing on the school authorities in many cities the importance of this subject as part of the training of the coming voters in their duties and responsibilities; while the character of the work done in many schools where something is attempted shows the need for discussing the methods and scope of instruction, and of urging a larger attention to this subject than it now receives.

Some explanation of the backward state of school instruction in this subject may be found in the slight attention that has

Backward State of Instruction. been given to the subject of civil government in educational circles. That subject has not

for ten years had a place on the program of the National Educational Association. The only recent discussions of the subject of any importance have been in connection with plans for the teaching of history in the secondary schools. And in these, the teaching of civil government has been emphatically subordinated to that of history; while as the history work recommended ignores the study of recent local government, the influence of these plans has tended rather to cause the subject now before us to be neglected than to secure for it the attention which it merits.

The specific suggestions for high school work in municipal government that can be made in this paper are necessarily

brief. A preliminary step must be the abandonment of the old style manual on the Federal Constitution as a sufficient basis for work in government, and the introduction of a modern text-book dealing also with state and local government, and the machinery and influence of political parties. Good books for

this purpose are: James and Sanford, "Government in State and Nation"; Ashley, "The American Federal State," and Bryce, "The American Commonwealth," abridged edition.

Still better, for the study of state and local government, are the text-books on the government of particular states now being issued by different publishers, which usually give more specific information about municipal government in the state concerned than the more general works can do. But the most effective part of the high school course in municipal government must be that dealing with the government of the city in which the school is located. The time that can ordinarily be given to this topic in a high school course will not permit of a study of municipal government in foreign countries, or even of an extended comparison of municipal institutions in the different American cities. But the pupils can be taught the governmental organization of their own city, with a fair degree of precision; and this should be the primary aim of the high school instruction. No doubt this imposes a more serious burden on the teacher, requires larger training and ability, and calls for greater tact and discretion than to teach the vague generalities of a text-book in use all over the country; but it is only on the basis of the intensive study of their own city that satisfactory work can be accomplished. An aid for this work exists in many cities in the Municipal Manual, prepared for the use of the city officers, copies of which can usually be secured for the schools. In a few cities a small pamphlet has been published on the city government, for example, in Cambridge, Mass., and this example might be followed in all the cities of importance.

Time and space does not permit of further suggestions as to methods of instruction, which would in any case require an incursion into the field of pedagogy, and may be left for dis-

cussion by those who have had special experience in secondary education.

In our colleges and universities, too, there should be instruction in municipal government, given as part of a general introductory course in government, intended College Instruction. not for the specialized work of advanced students, but for the main body of undergraduates.

Some of the largest and best universities in the country, which offer ample work in municipal government for advanced and graduate students who specialize in history and political science, fail to offer the more elementary work for the general mass of students. The universities cannot be excused from this work on the ground that it belongs to the secondary schools. For, on one hand, as has been noted, most of our high schools do not meet this need, even as far as they might; and this lack is more apt to be true of those schools whose main work is that of preparing students for college. On the other hand, it is not too much to say that every college graduate should be enabled to exercise his rights of citizenship with a larger knowledge and broader understanding of their significance than can be given in the best secondary schools.

That part of the general college course on government dealing with municipal government should differ materially Comparative Study of Cities. from the corresponding part of the high school course. Instead of confining attention mainly to the study of a single city, the college course should include a comparative study of typical American cities, with special reference to those within the sphere of influence of the institution. Some reference may also be made to municipal conditions in other countries; but, in the main, that aspect of the subject must be left to the more advanced and specialized courses. The study of party machinery and the operation of extra legal forces can be made more exact and more definite in the college than in the high school course. And the more mature college students should be taught a higher standard of ethical ideals in politics than is possible with those of a younger age.

By thus emphasizing the importance of and the need for the

more elementary and more general instruction in municipal government both in schools and colleges, I have not meant to underrate the advanced specialized courses established, especially in the larger universities. In view, however, of the previous discussion on this phase of the subject, it will not be necessary to present here any definite outline or specific suggestions for such courses. But it may be worth while to note the place which these courses should occupy in relation to the more elementary work. While they are not courses which every student can be expected to take, the number of students to whom they will be of direct benefit is perhaps larger than many people suppose.

In the first place, such special courses should be part of the training of those who expect to become teachers of municipal government as part of general courses in government either in secondary schools or colleges.

Special Courses. It is perhaps true that, with a good training in history and the more general aspects of political science, an exceptional teacher may be able in time to develop for himself satisfactory methods and plans for teaching municipal government; as has already been done in some few cases. But the same advantages which result from specialized training in other branches of educational work are to be secured in this particular field; and efficient and effective instruction in municipal government cannot be expected to become the general rule in our cities until the teachers are, for the most part, those who have received such special training.

Another important class of students to whom the special university courses in municipal government are of particular value are those who look forward to journalism as their profession. The university trained journalist is almost certain to find his life-work in one of the important cities, where a large share of the subjects which will occupy his time will be questions of municipal government. The journalist who has given some time to a study of these questions from the comprehensive point of view of a university course will be best prepared to discuss the problems which arise in his own locality.

And, in the third place, such special courses in municipal

government are essential for all of those who do not expect their political activities to end with the ordinary duties of citizens, but who anticipate a larger share in the discussion and settlement of public questions and the management of political affairs. It must be clearly recognized that municipal government in our large cities, like the Government at Washington, will not, and indeed cannot, be entrusted to citizens who, up to the time of their selection as officials, have been completely engrossed in their private affairs; but must be managed by men who spend much of their time studying the difficult problems to be solved. Politics, even under the best conditions, is no mere sport for dilettante amateurs; but a serious business where professional workers succeed, and must succeed, because they represent the same principle of specialization of functions and division of labor which lies at the base of all developing civilization. And if the illiterate and dishonest hucksters who too often perform this function in municipal affairs are to be driven from the field, university men must prepare themselves to take their places, and to make politics as honorable a profession as any other.

Besides the university courses dealing specifically with municipal government as a whole, it may be worth while to call **University Courses.** attention to the opportunities which our larger universities offer for the more detailed study of particular branches of municipal administration.

These are even now being constantly made use of by those who enter into the various technical municipal services, as attorneys, engineers, sanitary officers, school officials, and the like. But, in addition to this, it would be possible by combining the distinctly municipal subjects in different departments of a university to present a comprehensive course in municipal administration, which would be the best preliminary training for some of the higher posts in municipal governments. To give a single example, the office of city clerk should be a permanent one, filled by a man who—without having the technical training of the experts in any one of the various branches of administration—has yet had a large amount of special knowledge of all of these branches. It is no doubt a somewhat fanciful suggestion

to propose anything of this kind, in view of present political conditions in this country; and I am very far from urging any student to carry out such a scheme with any hope of securing a suitable position. But it may be worth while, at least, to call attention to the possibilities of our present educational facilities, if political conditions ever become such as to utilize these advantages.

In conclusion, I have attempted to suggest in this paper a correlated scheme of instruction in municipal government running through the whole educational system, which may be roughly summarized as follows:

1. Simple lessons in the duties of public agents in the elementary schools.
2. The systematic study of one city in high schools and academies.
3. A comparative study of American municipal government as part of a general course in government in all our colleges and universities.
4. A comprehensive study of municipal government for advanced students in the universities; leading to,
5. The technical courses in the various professional departments of the universities.

The Teaching of Municipal Government in the High Schools of Our Large Cities

By J. B. DAVIS

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The question, What are our schools doing to prepare the youth of our cities to shoulder the heaviest burden ever yet imposed upon any generation, is a timely one. Never in the history of our country have problems presented themselves for solution requiring higher intellectual qualities or more righteousness in public life than now. To apply this question to the schools of our large cities is especially pertinent, as more certain and permanent results can be obtained by working through the coming citizens than by spending vast sums of money to make only temporary impressions on the present and passing generations.

In attaining these results the high school holds a unique place in our educational system. Whatever is done in the universities reaches but a very few, as Dr. Fairlie has said; and in the grammar schools very little can be done beyond gaining a familiarity with the nomenclature of political science, and perhaps a little of the spirit of our institutions may be instilled into the children by the right kind of teachers. It is to the high schools of our large cities that we must look for the greatest results. And the fact that they are doing so little in a formal way to teach the duties of citizenship is greatly to be lamented. The high school is a public institution supported by the taxpayers of the city, and is in duty bound to make the best possible return for the investment made. All who appreciate the present conditions of American municipalities will agree that no better dividend can be paid by a high school than a yearly

installment of intelligent, conscientious citizens, well versed in their obligation to the city in which they live.

I believe it is my duty to discuss the teaching of municipal government in the high school, not from theory or lofty ideals, but from the experiments made with my own classes. The course in Civics, or, as we prefer to call it, the History of American Political Institutions, is the last of eight consecutive courses in history offered during the four years of the

History of Political Institutions. Detroit Central High School. The first year is devoted to Ancient History, the second year to Medieval and Modern Europe, the third to English History and English Political Institutions, and the fourth to American History and American Political Institutions. Only the first year's work is required of all students, yet from seventy to eighty per cent of those graduating have taken the full work in history. All courses are pursued four hours per week, and are progressive in the character of the teaching and work required of the students. By the time that they reach the last year they are prepared to carry work that they could not do successfully without this previous training.

The study of English Political Institutions during the third year serves as a preparatory course for the later study in American History. The method of teaching is similar in both subjects, and gives the student an insight into the character of the work that is to follow. In this course particular attention is given to the origin and development of the English Municipalities. Their history is followed through the period of corruption and the reform movements since 1835. Recent conditions are studied from Albert Shaw's "Municipal Government in Great Britain," especially the chapter on Glasgow.

In the course in American Political Institutions we use no text-book. One reason is that until very recently no satisfactory book had been published; but perhaps the chief reason is, that without a text-book, the course, while remaining the same in general outline, is left free to expand and progress from year to year. The work is conducted by means of lectures accompanied by

No Text-

books Used.

outlines, with references to the books to be found in the school library. Notes are taken by the students both on the lectures and from the reading of the references. This is followed by recitations, examinations and students' reports, which form a very important part of the work.

The divisions of the course are Local, State and National Government. Nearly one-half of the time is given to Local Institutions and about one-fourth of the entire course to Municipal Government. The reason for this is that we believe we are preparing the youth not to be governors or presidents, but to be citizens. They are just about to leave the high school either for higher institutions of learning, where few will study the subject, or for active life in our own city or some other equally in need of good citizens.

In the work on Municipalities two outlines are given. The first, reviewing the history of English cities and the development of our own, includes a detailed study of the City of Detroit. The material for this work is made up of the municipal manual compiled by the city clerk, the reports and manuals of the several boards and commissions, the blank forms used in the business of the various offices, and the daily papers. Clippings from the press are kept in a special scrap-book indexed according to the lecture, division and section numbers of the outlines of the course. A brief application of each article to the class-work is written out by the student. In this way a live interest is created in current events and local topics, and an ability to read the newspapers intelligently is acquired. This has proved peculiarly beneficial this year during our agitations of revised charters, school bills and primary elections.

The second outline treats of Municipal Problems. The prevailing conditions in American cities are studied with the purpose of determining, as far as possible, the chief evils and their causes. These tendencies toward evil conditions are pointed out as not only threatening the cities themselves with ruin, but menacing the welfare of the State and the Nation. On the other hand, the recent changes for the better receive their due attention. Several of the reform movements are studied, such

as Civil Service, Time and Manner of Holding Elections, Restriction of the State Legislatures, Increased Power and Responsibility of the Mayor, Boards Elected at Large, Terms and Salaries, etc. A practical application of their purpose, plan of operation and method of adoption is made to our own city, often arousing lively debates and exhibiting not alone some judgment and opinion, but sectional and party prejudices due to home and outside influences. It is the purpose of this work not simply to teach forms of government, but to add to this a critical appreciation of measures, and as far as possible to create a lasting desire for cleanliness and purity in public life.

The last point in the outline is entitled "A New Patriotism," taken from Josiah Strong's "Twentieth Century City," in which

A New Patriotism. he says "that the present conditions call for a new patriotism,—not one which offers itself to die for the country, but one that is willing to live for it—which is as much more heroic as it is difficult." Under this subject it is impressed upon the student that merely to know what is best is not all that is required of the good citizen, but that when convinced of what is right, he must have the moral impulse that prompts him to do his civic duty, and that all our plans will fail if we do not raise the standard of citizenship to a higher plane of responsibility.

Special Investigations. Outside of the daily work just described, each student is required to select for investigation one subject from a list posted at the beginning of the term. These subjects are intended to give the student an opportunity to critically observe and report upon the actual working of some part of the Government, as some public office, board or commission, the process of taxation, or the carrying out of some law, as our recent Wayne County Primary Election Law. The plan corresponds to the thesis work of the University, and must be completed before the end of the semester. I have with me one of these papers, just handed in to-day. It is a report of the recent trial of the Wayne County Primary Election Law, promoted by the Detroit Municipal League. As this one applies so directly upon the work of this convention, I thought some of you might be interested in looking at it. It is

written by a boy eighteen years old, by the name of Charles Zabriskie. His only aid was a copy of the old election laws of the city and the new primary act. Each section of the law is followed through its entire application. Some thirty newspaper clippings, including the best cartoons, all the blank forms used by the inspectors, diagrams of voting booths in minute detail, and even official ballots, are used by way of illustration. In conclusion, he has summed up in his own words the value of this law to the City of Detroit as proved by the last election.

This summary of our work will serve to give you an idea of what we are attempting to do. We are alert for new ideas and methods, and strive to keep abreast of the times. Whether we accomplish all that we aim to do or not remains to be seen. We appreciate the need of good citizens and attempt to develop men such as Garfield described, "who, standing on a mountain height, see all the achievements of our past, and carry in their hearts the memory of its deeds, and who, looking forward, prepare to meet the dangers that come."

The School City

By WILSON L. GILL

General Supervisor of Moral and Civic Training, Public Schools of Cuba,
under the American Administration

The greatest aim and object of public education is to cultivate in the individuals to be educated a good conscience, and Object of Public Instruction. to secure for them a wise and resolute self-government, and the desire and ability to co-operate for the common good, or, in other words, a good character. Sharpening the wits and storing the memory with facts—the apparent object of schools, colleges and universities—is, in reality, but a minor matter, and will easily and necessarily follow the attainment of the chief end of education. A practical method which may be used in a wholesale way in all schools, for students of all ages, which makes it possible and easy for teachers to lead their pupils to cultivate a good conscience, to govern themselves wisely and to coöperate for the general good, will do for the cause of morality, education and human welfare, what the steam engine and electrical apparatus have done for the cause of manufactures and human comfort. The School City method of popular government has proved itself to be fully adequate to this great purpose. This large claim is not rashly or unadvisedly made. It is not claimed, however, that this method can take the place of other needed progress in public instruction made necessary by the social, political and industrial evolution which has accompanied the general introduction of machinery and the immense emigration from the farms to the cities, all of which have a direct bearing on the moral and civic conditions, and consequently call for notice in this place. The changed conditions demand, for the public thrift and the public safety, that children be trained in productive industry, and that intelligent attention shall be given to make a healthful division of the

children's time between bookwork, productive industry, recreation and rest, and the proper housing and feeding of the people. Let it be noted that by productive industry is not meant that kind of manual training in which a child is engaged only two or three hours a week, and in which he uses up material furnished out of the public funds and does not give a visible and commercially valuable and adequate return.

Teaching the precepts of morality and the doctrine of one's relation to his fellows and to his country, is as old as literature. Enterprising and true teachers have always sought for ways to put such teachings into practice, and they have been successful as teachers in proportion to their success in this matter. A well-developed method of practical character-building and training in morality, and in performing the duties and exercising the rights of citizenship in a thoroughly systematic, wholesale and successful way is new. Cuba is the first country in the world to require such training in the public schools. Every country should require it as a matter of public policy, and the highest legislative power of the state ought to give authority to it. There are many school teachers and officers who are bright enough to see the importance of training the children in citizenship, and to form good characters, and there are many who are sufficiently unselfish and self-sacrificing to perform the labor of thinking about and installing what is to them a new method in their schools. Such teachers should be encouraged to begin the work without waiting to be compelled by law. Even such enterprising ones need the encouragement and help of constant supervision by a competent and legally authorized specialist in moral and civic training. Such special supervision is at least as important as state supervision of any branch now taught in the schools. This is necessary for many reasons, a notable one being that many teachers who have had no experience in the use of the method and do not fully understand the principles involved, think it would redound to their credit if they should change the plan, and thus make it appear to be wholly or at least in part their own. Such ones generally fail in accomplishing the object of the School City, and the whole

plan is abandoned, unjustly discrediting the movement. Some of these same teachers would have succeeded had they been under competent supervision.

There are school teachers and officers who will not take the trouble to introduce this method. Whether or not the latter are in the vast majority may not be of much importance. That there are any such, is sufficient reason for looking to the higher powers for favorable decision in this matter.

Whether the children of a nation shall all be trained as subjects of a monarchy, as is being done ordinarily throughout the world, or as self-respecting, coöperating citizens of a republic, is a question that demands the attention of broad-minded statesmen, whose insight is sufficiently penetrating and whose outlook is far-reaching enough to enable them to discover a vast peril

A Question for Statesmen. of the great republic at the present time, whose judgment is good enough to enable them to recognize the remedy when it is placed before them, and who have enough back-bone to act promptly and effectively in this matter. They should put it beyond the choice of all who might hinder. They should lay down the law that the schools of a republic shall train its people while children as citizens, not as subjects, and that they shall make the developing of good character in the children the first aim and a specific practical part of the daily work of the schools.

In the United States, the greatest and most successful of all republics, the one great failure in the government is the municipality, and this is a sore spot that threatens death to the republic. It is worth while to analyze the situation, with a view to seeing the principal causes for the weakness in American municipal government.

The most glaring defect is that a great mass of the educated people do not go to the primaries, and they neglect their municipal duties. That leaves the effective political voting power in the hands of those who are comparatively uneducated. They, in turn, are organized and manipulated by men who make a business of municipal politics, not always, but generally, for the money they can get from the public treasury, and, by means of black-

Facts and Philosophy.

mail, from private persons and establishments, and especially from those engaged in forbidden or restricted practices and business.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and the educated people have not paid the price. Among the consequences and insufficient results from the expenditure of public funds, are more disease and a higher death rate than there should be.

Lost Liberty and Death. The people have lost a part of their liberty if, because of the inability or dishonesty of the public servants, they must labor additional hours to pay their taxes, and quite as much so, if they lose life because of bad drainage, dirty streets, impure water, bad food or other evils which should be prevented by the government.

As this state of affairs is charged to the account of educated people, let us take a closer look. We see practically the following: The uneducated men, who can be easily handled by the machinery of the bosses, all vote; most of those who have had but little schooling vote; less of those who have had much schooling vote; a college and university education is almost a certain guarantee that a man will not attend the primaries or perform his other municipal duties. This seems to throw the blame on the schools, colleges and universities. They teach right principles. The fault does not seem to be in the books. The fault is in the school management. From the primary

Schools and Colleges are to Blame. school till the man graduates from the university, he is made to feel and to know that he has simply to obey and nothing further to do with the government of himself and his fellows, and that he is a tattle-tale and sneak if he brings a wrongdoer to justice, and is mean and dishonorable if, when called upon by the authorities to testify, he does not so shape his testimony as to clear the offender.

Under this pressure, secret opposition and disloyalty to constituted authority—anarchy—is constantly fostered. Many pupils regard their pleasure and interest as opposed to those of their teachers, who are apt to be thought of as spies, and in some cases as enemies, instead of friends and guides.

Old-fashioned school government is monarchy in which the

teacher endeavors to rule by means of his conscience and arbitrary authority, and the political results are as we see them in the municipalities of the United States.

The recognition of the cause of the evil is almost a declaration of the only remedy, which is to systematically train the individual to wisely cultivate his own conscience and be governed by it, rather than by that of the teacher ; to coöperate with his fellows for the common good, rather than for mischief ; to form the habits of law and order, rather than those of anarchy. In

The Remedy. other words, the remedy for the apathy of educated men, in reference to their municipal duties,—which is in effect anarchy, not of the lowest, but possibly the most dangerous type,—is to train them while young to think and act as citizens and to form the habits of citizenship, instead of, as at the present, training them in the schools and colleges as subjects of monarchy.

The plan of the School City is to organize the children of each school under a charter given by the higher authorities, as citizens of a municipality. These citizens elect a city council, who, in one phase of the plan, in turn elect mayor, judge and other administrative and judicial officers. The mayor appoints his cabinet and subordinates and has power to remove them at will. Nomination by petition, proportional representation and the initiative and referendum enable the whole body of citizens to express and enforce its will at any time, either with or inde-

Plan of pendent of its representatives. Elections, for **School City.** several reasons, occur frequently—once in ten weeks—and experience has shown that it is desirable to make the term of the police officers short. In most primary schools, every citizen not elected or appointed to some other office is a candidate for a place on the police force, for which a high ideal of gentility and kindness is set.

I suggest the following code of laws, leaving the children free to accept, change or reject them, and to make additional laws as circumstances require. They invariably accept them without change, and generally with much enthusiasm. The whole code is given to show how short and comprehensive it is.

SCHOOL CITY LAWS

CHAPTER I. THE GENERAL CITY LAW

Do to others as you would wish them to do to you. This is the natural law without which no popular government can succeed, and it is the general law of this School City, to which all other laws and regulations must conform.

CHAPTER II. THINGS PROHIBITED

Article 1. Do not to others that which you would not wish them to do to you.

Order

Article 2. Anything which disturbs the order in halls, classrooms or in any place within the jurisdiction of the School City is prohibited.

Article 3. Anything which is profane, rude or intentionally unkind or impolite is prohibited.

Cleanliness

Article 4. Anything which detracts from the neat and orderly appearance in our School City is prohibited.

Health

Article 5. Anything which detracts from the healthful conditions of our School City is prohibited.

Public and Private Property

Article 6. Anything which mars or destroys property in our School City is prohibited.

CHAPTER III. DUTIES

Article 1. Every citizen is in duty bound to call the attention of the authorities to any violation of the laws of this School City.

CHAPTER IV. PUNISHMENTS

Article 1. Any citizen violating any law of this School City shall be subject to punishment not less than a reprimand, and not greater than a withdrawal of the rights of citizenship.

Article 2. Every punishment must be approved by the principal of the school before it is carried into execution, and then promptly put in effect.

CHAPTER V. OFFICERS

Article 1. The police commissioner, with the consent of the mayor, shall appoint one chief of police for the school and one captain of police and four policemen for each room. Appointments can not go into effect before they are approved by the city council.

CHAPTER VI. TERMS OF OFFICE

Article 1. The term of office of all officers, unless otherwise provided, shall be until the next general election, and until their successors are appointed or elected.

Article 2. Captains of police shall serve two weeks and policemen one week, unless sooner removed for cause by the commissioner of police.

Many instances of fine moral results are reported from the different schools. Of course, the results are not uniform, as the School City is not an automatic machine out of which all must come in exactly the same shape. It is a method, and its degree of success depends upon the interest and skill Good Results. of the principal and teachers who use it. Every experience emphasizes the fact that best results demand good printed suggestions and helps for the teachers and children, and intelligent and authoritative supervision.

While the growth of the spirit of democracy has gone on for centuries in Great Britain, till to-day England is in name a Monarchy and Democracy. monarchy, but in fact a great free democratic republic,—in America, the vestiges of monarchy not wiped out by the Revolutionary War have gone on developing, till in some of our cities and states

we have the name and machinery of a democratic republic, but in reality the spirit and the actual domination of monarchy.

The "bosses," or "leaders," are not to blame for this condition. The conditions have produced the "bosses" who are our real rulers as much as if we called them "kings" or "czars." Except by some sort of revolt against the present order of things in our municipal and state government, the only way in which a public-spirited man can render political service in those cities and states where boss-rule has been established, is by making himself the boss or sub-boss or entering the service of the existing uncrowned king.

Within a short time I have come in close contact with two political bosses. One is a highly educated, refined American gentleman, who derives his wealth from his private commercial enterprise. The sincerity and depth of his interest in educational matters and the general welfare and happiness of his fellow countrymen is evidenced by the fact that his daughter, with no financial necessity, is an enthusiastic kindergartner, and he is proud of it; and though he sees that faithful, intelligent, tactful training in citizenship in all the public schools would mean the ultimate doom of bossism, he is ready to give his hearty support and coöperation for the general introduction of the School City. In a true democracy, it is such men that the people delight to trust and to honor. The other boss I saw

and heard angrily denounce, with profane and
Two Bosses. vile language, a lady official, and taunt her as
being a college graduate, because she raised her voice against impure methods in the appointment of teachers. This was in the presence of nearly a dozen of her official colleagues, all men, stalwart in body; but not one dared a word in protest against his insults to womanhood, education and the spirit of democratic republicanism. All were ashamed of the outrage, but they were in his power, and probably felt that they were helpless to oppose him. The object of this allusion to the two bosses is neither to condemn nor defend this development of monarchy in our midst. If the people want a monarchy under the name of boss government, by all means let them have it; but I am acting on the presumption that they do not want

the spirit and conditions of monarchy in city and state affairs, any more than they do in national government. One of my objects is to call attention to the fact that there are two kinds of bosses, and that some may be true gentlemen and patriotic, who are serving the welfare of their neighbors as best they can under existing conditions, and that they will gladly coöperate to establish in the municipalities a government more directly in the hands of the people, just as soon as the educated and best elements of the people are willing and prepared to habitually defend their rights and perform their duties as citizens.

When our republic was young, the mass of her people lived on farms. Boys and girls went to school only two or three months in the year. For the rest of the time they labored with their parents in the fields and at the spinning-wheel and loom, always under moral, religious, industrial and civic influence and training. The hoe and spade of the Colonies have given way to the steam-driven machines on the vast prairies; the spinning-wheel and hand-loom to immense cotton and woollen mills; the country forge to stupendous rolling mills, furnaces, foundries and forges. By such means the children of to-day are separated

Industrial, during work hours from their parents. The
Moral and Civic public schools, which consume these released
Evolution. hours and years in training the intellect and

cramming the memory, make no systematic, intelligent endeavor to furnish that kind of character-training which our ancestors received from their parents. The War of the Revolution failed to wipe out that vestige of monarchy which lurked in the government of the little country school. That was too insignificant to be thought of, for in those days the American citizen's character was built in the open country under the influence of their parents, the heroes of the Revolution. Now, American character is developed in great swarming buildings, under the weight of a heavy, crowded, intellectual curriculum, and that vestige of monarchy which was left in the school has grown, with the increasing number of school months, to large proportions and is wielded by masters who themselves have been trained as subjects, not as free men.

Thus the public schools and colleges, boasted bulwarks of

our liberties, have unwittingly, but ceaselessly, nursed the spirit of monarchy, and, through childhood and youth, subjected the whole educated part of our people to it, to that extent that when they reach the age of manhood they do not go to the primaries and municipal polls, and thus they fail to enter into their heritage of citizenship. This is what has made government by the bosses possible, and has, in large measure, already wrecked the Republic, so far as the municipalities are concerned. Fortunately, some of the municipal bosses, maybe many of them, are so patriotic that they would gladly see political power restored to an intelligent, active, faithful citizenship;

An Appeal to the American People. and I hereby appeal to all American patriots and friends of a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, to join in this

movement to provide that every child who enters a school-house shall be treated while there as a freeman, and be confirmed in the character and habits of a free-born, faithful and patriotic American citizen, not only ready to die, if necessary, for his native land, but what is more difficult and quite as important, actually to live for his country, patiently and fearlessly defending his rights and faithfully performing all his public duties.

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Report of the Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics

By Dr. EDWARD M. HARTWELL, Chairman
Secretary Statistics Department of Boston

On behalf of the Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics, I beg to submit the following report, which, like the reports of 1901 and 1902, is a report of progress.

During the past year two new members have been added to the Committee, viz., Mr. Blacklock, of Baltimore, Md., and Mr. Worthington C. Ford, of Washington, D. C. Dr. Edward W. Bemis, of Cleveland, Ohio, has resigned from the Committee, and Mr. Charles W. Haskins, of New York City, has died.

The loss of Mr. Haskins will be keenly felt. He was an active and valued member of the Committee from the date of its organization early in 1901, and had rendered signal service to the cause of uniform accounting by his success in securing the adoption by the government of Chicago of certain recommendations of this Committee relating to the classification of accounts and the form of its comptroller's report. In his professional capacity as head of the firm of Haskins & Sells, expert accountants, he was instrumental in systematizing both the book-keeping and the reports of the Chicago comptroller's office, in accordance with improved modern methods.

During the year the Committee has held three meetings, one in Boston, one in Philadelphia, and one in New York. Each meeting was devoted to the elaboration and improvement of the series of schedules recommended for trial by the Committee in their reports of 1901 and 1902. As those reports are to be found in the proceedings of the Rochester and Boston meetings of the League, it is not necessary to describe them with particularity in this connection; especially as Mr. Chase's paper, which will

follow this report, will deal with the distinctive features of the schedules and forms of summary statement contained in our previous reports, in so far as they have been embodied in the Ohio scheme of uniform accounting.

However, it may be noted, in passing, that it is not the purpose of this Committee to elaborate a system of municipal book-

Purpose of Committee. keeping for adoption by all cities, but rather to devise a practicable scheme for summarizing the accounts of any city, whatever its method of book-keeping may be, under the form of what may be termed a "model comptroller's report." In accordance with this policy, and with full recognition of the great diversity which obtains in the financial statistics and reports of American cities, the schedules thus far recommended by this Committee have been avowedly tentative and necessarily elastic in their nature. Moreover, we have always endeavored to determine their practicability by putting them to the test of actual use. Thus, at Rochester, in 1901, we presented, in connection with our report, the report of the auditor of the City of Newton, Massachusetts, who, with the coöperation of Mr. Chase, of this Committee, in an appendix summarized the receipts and expenditures of Newton for the year 1900, in accordance with the recommendations of this Committee as embodied in its Schedule D. Similarly, as a part of our report, at Boston, in 1902, we presented in printed form a "Statement of the Receipts and Expenditures of the City of Boston for the fiscal year 1900-01, grouped according to the 'Uniform System' of the National Municipal League," which was prepared by the Statistics Department of Boston for the use of the Committee. This year Mr. Chase, of this Committee, in his capacity of expert accountant and auditor, has secured the adoption of some of our schedules by the city auditor of Cambridge, Massachusetts, in his report for the year ending November 30, 1902. Again, the Report of the Comptroller of the City of Baltimore, for the year 1902, is arranged throughout in accordance with our system of grouping receipts and expenditures according to the function subserved by the departments of the City Government. As our scheme is in the experimental stage, and our various schedules

are still undergoing testing and trial, we deem it inadvisable to make final recommendations at this time. Before giving final shape to our schedules, we desire to benefit by the experience and criticism of a still larger number of comptrollers and auditors.

The most notable occurrence in the line of progress toward uniform municipal accounting in the past year was the passage last summer by the Ohio Legislature of an act to secure uniform accounts and financial reports from all cities in the state. The Ohio authorities have had the professional advice of Mr. Chase, who is a member of this Committee, in perfecting their organization and in shaping schedules, forms of report, etc. Before their final adoption the Ohio schedules were submitted to this Committee for consideration. These schedules are in substantial accord with our tentative schedules of 1902.

At the instance of the Merchants' Association of New York, an investigation of the methods employed in keeping the accounts of the City of New York has been undertaken with a view to securing simpler and more intelligible reports of the financial operations of that city. The investigation, which is still in progress, is in charge of Mr. Ford, who is a member of this Committee. His report is awaited with interest.

A bill modeled upon the Ohio act for securing uniformity in municipal accounts was introduced early in the session of the present Legislature of Massachusetts. The bill, which has aroused opposition from local authorities, is still in committee.

The list of publications in which ordinary and extraordinary receipts and expenditures are given separately, and at the same time are arranged by groups of departments (according to the functional import of the department) under general heads, e. g., General Adoption of Schedules. Government, Public Safety, is as follows:

1. City of Newton, Massachusetts, Annual Report of the Newton, City Auditor for the year ending December Massachusetts. 31, 1900, together with an Appendix of the Receipts and Expenditures of the city, arranged according to the Uniform System of the National Municipal

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League, Newton, 1901. (The Appendix is a summary statement, conforming with Schedule D, 1901, arranged by Harvey S. Chase, of this Committee.)

2. Annual Report of the City Comptroller to the Mayor, City Council of Baltimore for the Fiscal Year ending December 31, 1901, Baltimore, 1902. Appendix Baltimore. Summary of Receipts and Expenditures arranged according to the Uniform System of the National Municipal League. (This summary corresponds with Schedule D, 1901.)

3. Report of Expert Accountant appointed by the Selectmen to examine the accounts of the Town of Brookline (Brookline, 1902.) (The Summary of Receipts, Appropriations and Expenditures for the year 1901-02 is arranged by Mr. Chase, who made the report according to Schedule D, 1901, with some slight modifications.)

4. The Receipts, Appropriations and Expenditures of the City of Boston, for the Fiscal Year ending January 31, 1902, arranged according to the "Uniform System" of the National Municipal League. Drawn up as Appendix to a Report submitted to the Mayor of Boston on May 8, 1902, by Harvey S. Chase, Public Accountant and Auditor, 8 Congress street, Boston, Member of the Committee upon Uniform Municipal Accounting of the National Municipal League, Boston, 1902. (In this publication Mr. Chase has arranged the accounts under eight schedules, viz., Schedule A, I-VIII. His Schedules A, I, IV, V, VI_a and VI_b correspond respectively with Schedules A, I, II, III, IV, V and VI, reported by this Committee in 1902. The Committee's Schedule A, IV [Mr. Chase's A, V] corresponds with some modifications in the rubrics, with Schedule D of 1901. Mr. Chase's Schedules A, II, III, VII and VIII are tentative schedules.)

5. City of Boston, Statistics Department. Receipts and Expenditures of the City of Boston and County of Suffolk for the Fiscal Year 1900-01, grouped according to the "Uniform System" of the National Municipal League, Boston, 1902.

(This publication, embracing four tables, was presented in print as a part of the report of this Committee at the meeting of the League in May, 1902. The tables, increased to seven in number, were published in Vol. IV, No. 6, of the "Monthly Bulletin" of the Statistics Department [of which the writer is secretary], a copy of which was sent to every member of the National Municipal League. With slight modifications Tables I, III, IV, V and VI correspond respectively with Schedules A, II, III, IV, V and VI recommended by this Committee in 1902, Tables I and VII being tentative tables. Table IV corresponds in the main with Schedule D of 1901.)

6. Department of Finance. Forty-sixth Annual Report. Finances of the City of Chicago, year ended December 31, 1902.

(This is the first report of the Comptroller of Chicago. Chicago in accordance with the new uniform plan of accounting and auditing devised by Messrs. Haskins & Sells, Certified Public Accountants, of New York, and adopted by the City Council in November, 1901. Although no mention of the "Uniform System" of the National Municipal League appears in the report, its exhibits, schedules and summary statements conform more or less closely with that system and with the recommendations of this Committee.)

7. City of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Annual Report of the City Auditor, showing the Receipts and Expenditures for the year ending November 30, 1902. "The Cambridge. first part of this report," says the Auditor, Mr.

Harry T. Upham, "is devoted to an exhibit of the receipts and expenditures arranged upon schedules for Uniform Municipal Accounting recommended by the National Municipal League." This arrangement was adopted on the professional advice of Mr. Chase, of this committee. The schedules employed are divided into two series, A I-VIII, as in Mr. Chase's report, May 8, 1902, to the Mayor of Boston, and Series B, I-VII. The B schedules of the Cambridge report correspond in a general way with the recommendations of the report of 1902 of this Committee, but (pending the adoption by this Committee of definite rubrics and a final classification in re-

spect to assets and liabilities), must be classed as experimental schedules for the present.)

8. Annual Report of the City Comptroller to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore for the Fiscal Year ending December 31, 1902, Baltimore, 1903. (In this report the Baltimore. Comptroller has arranged the statements of receipts and expenditures in accordance with Schedule D of 1901, and declares his intention of preparing a supplemental report, which shall conform throughout with the recommendations of the National Municipal League. The supplemental report has recently been issued, and embraces both A and B schedules with certain modifications to fit the peculiarities of the Baltimore accounts.)

It is clear that the efforts of your Committee have begun to bear fruit; but it is manifest also from the diversity of results discoverable in the attempts thus far made to summarize the accounts of the cities named in the foregoing list, that our scheme of uniform accounts and reports is still in the experimental stage. Therefore, it does not seem wise to us to set forth any new forms of schedule at this juncture.

With regard to municipal statistics, this Committee holds to the opinion expressed in their report in 1901, viz., that "it is impracticable at present to attempt to secure uniform returns throughout the whole field of Municipal Statistics. municipal statistics from any considerable number of American cities." The remainder of this report will be devoted to an attempt to justify that opinion.

Municipal statistics, properly speaking, include the consideration of a great variety of facts, covering a wide range of subjects. The literature of municipal statistics is not only diversified and extensive, but is marked by distinctive generic characteristics, as a glance at the publication of any well-organized European municipal statistical office will show.

The following free translation of the sub-titles in the table of contents of the ninth issue, in 1901, of the "Statistisches Jahrbuch Deutscher Städte" (Statistical Year Book of German Cities), may serve to indicate the meaning of municipal statistics where municipal statistical offices are most numerous and active:

- I. Territory. Subdivision of territory by use, e.g., for streets, buildings, parks. Ownership of Land (pp. 1-13, five tables).
- II. Construction and Alteration of Buildings (pp. 14-32, seven tables).
- III. Street Cleaning and Sprinkling (pp. 33-41, two tables).
- IV. Drainage and Sewerage (pp. 42-46, one table).
- V. Public Parks, Gardens and Squares (pp. 47-50, one table).
- VI. Water-works (pp. 51-60, five tables).
- VII. Fire Protection (pp. 61-71, four tables).
- VIII. Transportation of Passengers. Street Railways, Omnibus Lines and Cabs. (Pp. 72-77, one table for fifty cities.)
- IX. Postal and Telegraph Statistics (pp. 78-82, two tables).
- X. Inland Commerce and Harbors (pp. 83-119, ten tables).
- XI. Savings Banks Statistics (pp. 120-136, six tables).
- XII. Employment Bureaus (pp. 137-144, three tables).
- XIII. Strikes and Lockouts (pp. 145-149, four tables).
- XIV. Industrial Courts (pp. 150-159, five tables).
- XV. Price Statistics of Necessaries of Life (pp. 160-166, two tables).
- XVI. Offices for Chemical Examination (food and drug inspection, water analysis, etc.). (Pp. 167-188, six tables.)
- XVII. Statistics of Incomes and Wages (pp. 189-208, fourteen tables).
- XVIII. Indebtedness of Cities (pp. 209-225, two tables).
- XIX. Educational Statistics (pp. 226-241, five tables).
- XX. Population Statistics (pp. 242-254, eight tables).
- XXI. Poor Relief and Organized Charity (pp. 255-297, nine tables).
- XXII. Cattle Markets and Slaughter-houses (pp. 298-322, nine tables).
- XXIII. Municipal Lighting (pp. 323-345, ten tables).
- XXIV. Taxation Statistics (pp. 346-358, five tables).
- XXV. Administration and Elections (pp. 359-370, nine tables). (Appendix to Section XX, pp. 371-373, two tables).

It should be noted (1) that the articles designated by the foregoing twenty-five titles (although similar articles, with like titles, are to be found in other issues of the Year Book) are practically special articles, and (2) that the list does not exhaust the recognized branches of municipal statistics. Thus the "Care of the Sick" was treated in six of the eight preced-

ing volumes, "Meteorological Conditions" in seven, "Trades Unions" in three, and "Housing and Households" in five. The Year Book is published by the Director of the City Statistical Office of Breslau, with the coöperation of nineteen gentlemen, most of whom are not only trained statisticians and the possessors of university degrees, but are also directors of a municipal bureau of statistics. No less than sixteen statistical offices, of different German cities, are represented in the authorship of the twenty-five articles enumerated in the foregoing list.

Following is a brief description of the tables grouped under "XX, Population Statistics":

Population Statistics. I. Estimated Population, at intervals of three months, from December 31, 1898, to March 31, 1900, with enumerated Population according to the Census of December 1, 1900 (for 55 cities).

II. Marriages in 1899. In this table, which embraces 55 cities, there are given: (1) Total number of marriages; (2) the number of bachelors married to spinsters, widows and divorced women; (3) the number of widowers married to spinsters, widows and divorced women; and (4) the number of marriages of divorced men, with spinsters, widows and divorced women, respectively.

III. Divorces in 1899. In this table, which embraces 39 cities, we find: (1) The number of divorces; (2) the proportion of divorces to 1,000 marriages; and (3) the proportion of divorces to 1,000 dissolutions of marriage.

IV. Legitimation of Illegitimate Children in 1899. In this table, relating to 41 cities, we find: (1) The number of legitimated children by sex; (2) the year of birth of the same by individual years, 1894-1899, in 1893 or earlier; (3) the proportion of legitimated children to 1,000 marriages.

V. Births in 1899. In this table, for 55 cities, we find: (1) The number born alive; (a) males, females, total; (b) illegitimate, males, females. (2) Still-births; (a) by sex; (b) illegitimate, by sex; (3) aggregate births, by sex; (4) the proportion of still-births to 1,000 births; (5) number of twins, by sex; and (6) number of triplets, by sex.

VI. Deaths in 1899. In this table, for 55 cities, we find: (1) Deaths, total and by sex, exclusive of still-births; (2) deaths of children under 1 year, distinguished as to legitimacy and sex; (3) deaths of married, widowed and divorced persons, by sex; (4) deaths from 14 principal causes.

VII. Births, Deaths, Immigration and Emigration, and Marriages, in 1899.

The rubrics of this table, which embraces 55 cities (except for Immigration and Emigration for 47 cities), are under A, Proportion to the 1,000 of Mean Population (1) Born, Total Illegitimate, Born Dead; (2) Died, Total, Children under 1 year; (3) Natural Increase; (4) Immigrated, Emigrated. B, Percentage Excess of Men to Women, exclusive of still-born, of those born or died in the year. C, Still-born. D, Percentage deaths of children under 1 year to the number born.

VIII. Local Movement of Population in 1899. (a) In 25 cities: (1) Recorded number, by sex, of Immigrants and Emigrants, with excess of one over the other; (b) the same as in (a), but without distinction of sex, for 7 cities; (c) Recorded Intramural Migration, for 26 cities.

It would be quite impossible to compile a series of tables relating to population, for even the ten leading cities of the United States to match Tables I-VI in the list given above, even if all of them had well-organized departments of statistics, and it is doubtful if any city takes measures to determine the number who move into it or withdraw from it annually or decennially. Not only the reports, but the records of our leading cities, are inadequate for such purposes. The statistics of

Untrustworthy Statistics. births, even in "registration cities," are notoriously untrustworthy. Thus, if we compute for 1901 the birth- and death-rates of the ten largest cities of the country on the basis of the "revised estimates" of population and the number of births and of deaths given in the "Statistics of Cities," Number 42 (September, 1902) of the Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor, we find that the birth-rate per thousand of population was 18.99, or only 1.14 above the death-rate, viz., 17.85. In other words, in an estimated population of 9,857,504, for the ten leading cities in 1901, the births, numbering 187,185, exceeded the deaths (176,000) by only 11,185. In three of the ten cities the figures given by the United States Commissioner of Labor show an excess of deaths over births for the year in question,—that excess being 1,684 for Baltimore, 2,130 for San Francisco, and 1,064 for Cincinnati, or 4,878 for the three cities. Can we wonder that unsophisticated publicists and editors raise the cry of

"race-suicide?" The truth is that the registration of births in cities is so faulty that our "birth-rates" are valueless in many instances. "It is doubtful," says Mr. W. A. King, Chief Statistician for Vital Statistics of the Twelfth Census of the United States, "if there is a single place in which birth is registered as fully as deaths."

Following European example and experience, it would be fairly easy to draw up a set of "uniform schedules" covering the principal branches of municipal statistics; but in the present state of the art of making American municipal statistics, such a procedure would be scarcely more than a counsel of perfection to a froward and unheeding generation.

Nevertheless, in view of the growing demand for improvement in certain kinds of municipal statistics, and of the probability, not to say certainty, that modern scientific methods of gathering, digesting and presenting such statistics will win their way if any considerable increase in the number of bureaus of municipal statistics shall take place, careful consideration of the generally unsystematic and frequently absurdly inaccurate methods now in vogue of estimating urban population in post-and intercensal years seems to us to be called for. The desire to institute comparisons between different cities in respect to mortality and birth-rates, per capita cost of streets, police and fire protection, etc., is wide-spread, and seems to be irresistible. But such comparisons are obviously misleading, or worse, when the estimates of population on which they are based are reached by haphazard or objectionable methods. Until the methods which are now common shall be rectified, no satisfactory system of comparative municipal statistics can be developed or established.

In October, 1898, Mr. August Herrmann, Commissioner of Water-works, Cincinnati, Ohio, read a paper on "Rates of Taxation in the Larger Cities of the United States" before the American Society of Municipal Improvements. Greater New York was then so new and amorphous that it had to be left out of account in Mr. Herrman's study of the thirty largest cities. Mr. Herrman presents an interesting and elaborate comparative table touching thirteen several points of inquiry for twenty-nine

cities. The first inquiry, "Name of City and Population, January 1, 1898?" is the only one to be considered at this juncture. According to the table, the only official estimate of population containing significant figures below the thousands' place was that for Boston. Of the remaining estimates 13 ended in 3 zeroes, 9 in 4 zeroes, and 6 in 5 zeroes. Such very round numbers of themselves suggest guess-work. Comparing these 29 "official estimates," with the census figures of 1900 for the same cities, we find that 20 of the 29 cities, or 69 per cent claimed a larger population in 1898 than was found by the enumerators two and one-half years later, in June, 1902!

If estimates equal brag, the value of per capita comparisons is likely to be an unknown, if not a minus quantity. The excess of estimated population in 1898 over enumerated population in 1900 ranged between 1,368, in St. Paul, and 151,425, in Chicago. In Cincinnati the excess amounted to 84,098, in St. Louis to 47,762, and in Omaha to 47,445. Evidences of the same generous way of making estimates are to be found in "No. 24, September, 1899, of the Bulletin of the Department of Labor, Washington, 1899." Under Statistics of Cities, Table VI, p. 656, *et seq. op. cit.*, "Population Estimated by Health Department" is given in one column and "Estimated Population January 1, 1899," being the revised estimate of the Labor Department, is set forth in the next column but one. The aggregate population of 32 cities, for 1898, according to the estimates of their health departments, exceeded by 277,059, or 2.04 per cent, the population enumerated in June, 1900, the estimates being overestimates as compared with the census returns for 1900 in 21 cases, and underestimates in 11 cases. The revised estimates of the Labor Department give an aggregate population for the 32 cities, January 1, 1899, which exceeds by 766,135, or 5.57 per cent, the census returns for 1900, there being 23 cases of over- and 9 of underestimate. In 14 cases the estimates of the Health Departments were changed by the Labor Department, the figures being put up in 11 instances and cut down in 3 instances. The overestimates of the Labor Department ranged between 5,849 for Albany, N. Y.,

and 151,425 for Chicago, while the underestimates varied between 2,104 for New Orleans and 53,431 for Philadelphia. In the case of Omaha, the overestimate amounted to 55,445, in St. Paul to 51,950, and in Cincinnati to 89,098. Underestimates of population in 1899, as compared with enumerated population in 1900, might well be overestimates of actual population in 1899. Fortunately, in census years the estimators of population, for the most part, quit work, but they seldom have the grace to rectify their errors.

The uncertain value of "official estimates" is indicated by the range of variation in three different official estimates of the population of the City of Baltimore for the year 1898. First, we have that published in Mr. Hermann's paper, viz., 500,000. A few months later, the "Charities Review" published a paper whose writer based certain per capita comparisons relating to outdoor relief in Baltimore and other cities upon another "official estimate" of 625,270 as the population of Baltimore in the year 1898, while the official death-rates of the city for the same year were based on an estimated population of 541,000. I asked the health officer how he obtained that figure. He replied that he had asked the two leading Baltimore newspapers "independently on the same day" for their estimates of the city's population. "One said 540,000, the other 541,000, and I took 541,000." In June, 1900, the enumerators of the twelfth census could find only 508,957 people in Baltimore!

The following tables giving population, deaths and death-rates, by years for the period 1890-1900, is introduced to show the differences in death-rates (the number of deaths being the same), when the estimates of population differ. The table is divided into two parts: I. Giving estimated population, number of deaths, and death-rate per thousand of population, as published by the Baltimore Health Department, and II. Corrected death-rates, based on enumerated population in 1890 and 1900, the population for other years being estimated in accordance with Farr's formula for estimating the annual geometrical increase of population in any period of time when the population at the beginning and end of the period is known.

Population, deaths and death rates for Baltimore, 1890-1900

	I			II - Corrected		Difference from published death rate
	*Population	Deaths	Death rate	†Population	Death rate	
1890	413,671	10,198	24.65	434,439	23.47	- 1.18
1891	426,917	10,073	23.59	441,371	22.82	- 0.77
1892	440,163	10,582	24.04	448,414	23.60	- 0.44
1893	453,409	9,554	21.07	455,569	20.97	- 0.10
1894	466,655	9,486	20.33	462,839	20.50	+ 0.17
1895	479,907	10,301	21.46	470,224	21.91	+ 0.45
1896	493,147	9,919	21.01	477,727	20.76	- 0.25
1897	506,398	9,329	18.42	485,351	19.22	+ 0.80
1898	541,000	10,385	19.20	493,094	21.66	+ 1.86
1899	541,000	10,152	18.76	500,963	20.26	+ 1.22
1900	541,000	10,700	19.78	508,957	21.02	+ 1.24

* Estimated by Health Department.

† Enumerated in 1890 and 1900, estimated according to Farr's formula in other years.

There has been marked emulation among American Health Departments in recent years to show improvement in the public health by cutting down the rate of mortality. In not a few instances the improvement claimed is fictitious. The following extract from the report of the Health Officer of Cincinnati, taken in connection with the subjoined table, shows how easy it is to save lives on paper:

"The estimated population of this city is 405,000. This estimate was reached by multiplying the registration for the presidential election of 1896 by five. This is the usual ratio adopted by statisticians as existing between the total population of a city and the registered electors.

"In comparing the estimated population of Cincinnati with that of other places, I find that it is proportionately lower than the estimates generally used by health officers of other cities in computing the annual death rate per thousand. In order that Cincinnati may show the low annual death rate to which she is entitled when the comparative statistics are tabulated, it will perhaps be well in making future reports to properly increase the estimated population. It will be noted that the death rate for Cincinnati for 1898 was 13.79 per thousand, and for 1897 it was 13.74 per thousand."

As has been noted already, the population of Cincinnati in 1900 was 325,902. The following table affords a comparison between the published death rates of the city for the five years 1896-1900, and the corrected death rates, based on the actual increase in population for the period 1890-1900.

Population, deaths and death rates for Cincinnati, 1896-1900

	I			II - Corrected		Difference from pub- lished death rate
	*Population	*Deaths	*Death rate	†Population	†Death rate	
1896	350,000	5,916	16.90	313,978	18.84	+ 1.94
1897	405,000	5,565	13.74	316,918	17.56	+ 3.81
1898	405,000	5,585	13.79	319,885	17.46	+ 3.66
1899	405,000	6,000	14.81	322,879	18.58	+ 3.77
1900	325,902	5,412	16.60	325,902	16.61	..

* Given by Health Department; population enumerated in 1900.

† Population estimated according to Farr's formula on basis of actual increase between 1890 and 1900. Enumerated in 1900.

The report of the Health Department of St. Louis for 1900-1901 contains a table (page 377) of the "Comparative Mortality of St. Louis During the Last Thirty-four Years," with a "Note" indicating the value attached by the department to its published "Mortality Rates." The note reads as follows: "The figures of population given above appear in a number of instances, except those for the United States census years . . . to be little more than guess work, and the mortality percentage (sic) based upon them open to question. From 1890 to 1900 the increase in local population has been computed from the census figures for that year, at the rate of four per centum annually." As the actual increase of the population of St. Louis between 1880 and 1890 was only 28.89 per cent, and between 1890 and 1900 was only 27.33 per cent, the assumption of an annual increase of "four per centum" between 1890 and 1900 seems groundless, and leaves the mortality rates of the table more than ever "open to question." Inspection of the table, which shows that for five consecutive years, viz., 1882-1886 inclusive, the population was estimated at 400,000, and that the population figure for 1890, viz., 460,000, was 8,230 in excess of the census figure for that year, suggests that a considerable number of the mortality rates given in the table are of little value.

The testimony of the Health Departments of Baltimore, Cincinnati and St. Louis shows conclusively that among them was no uniformity of method in estimating the population in 1898 (and in other years as well), since the Baltimore estimate

was based on a newspaper guess, that of Cincinnati on an obsolete method, viz., that of multiplying the number of registered voters (in 1896) by five, while that of St. Louis was based on the arbitrary and incorrect assumption of an annual increase of four per cent.

The following tables relating to the death rates of Baltimore, Cincinnati and St. Louis for the year 1898, are introduced to illustrate the diversity of results which arises when different systems of estimating the population are employed.

Death Rate in Baltimore, Cincinnati and St. Louis. Table I contains four estimates of population, viz. 1. That of the local Health Department. 2. Of the United States Labor Department, for January 1, 1899. This estimate is used in determining the death rate for 1898. 3. This Committee's estimates of population, obtained in accordance with Farr's formula, for (a) January 1, 1898, and (b) June 1, 1898, on the assumption that the same rate of increase in population obtained in the period 1890-1900 as was observed in the period 1880-1890. It will be noticed that the estimates of the Committee are lower than those of the Health and Labor Departments, and that the Committee's death rates are therefore considerably higher than the published death rates.

Table II shows the same figures under 1 and 2, as in Table I, inasmuch as we have no evidence whatever that the estimates and the death rates for 1898 have been corrected by the Health Departments or the Labor Department, in the light of the Census of 1900.

This Committee's estimates, etc., in Table II, may be termed "corrected estimates and death rates," as they have been derived by means of Farr's formula—in view of the rate of increase in population which actually took place in the period 1890-1900. Of course neither the Health Department nor the Labor Department could know what that rate was until after the census enumeration of 1900; but they might have estimated the population of the three cities on a uniform basis, i. e., the annual geometrical increase, derived from the rate of growth between 1880-1890, but inspection of Table I does not suggest that they did so.

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I. Death rate in Baltimore, Cincinnati and St. Louis in 1898. Estimated population being based on rate of increase between 1890 - 1900

ESTIMATES (Post-censal) by	BALTIMORE, 1898		CINCINNATI, 1898		ST. LOUIS, 1898	
	Population	Death rate	Population	Death rate	Population	Death rate
1. Health Department for 1898 . . .	541,000	18.82	405,000	12.86	623,000	14.13
2. Labor Department for January 1, 1899 . . .	541,000	18.82	415,000	12.56	623,000	14.13
3. National Municipal League Committee : (a) On January 1, 1898	532,335	19.12	333,084	15.65	547,635	16.06
(b) On June 1, 1898	538,312	18.91	335,195	15.55	553,456	15.91
No. of deaths in 1898	10,180	..	5,211	..	8,805	..

*As stated by Labor Department.

II. Death rates in Baltimore, Cincinnati and St. Louis in 1898. Estimated population in 3 (a) and 3 (b) being based on rate of increase between 1890 - 1900

ESTIMATES (Intercensal) by	BALTIMORE, 1898		CINCINNATI, 1898		ST. LOUIS, 1898	
	Population	Death rate	Population	Death rate	Population	Death rate
1. Health Department for 1898 . . .	541,000	18.82	405,000	12.86	623,000	14.13
2. Labor Department for January 1, 1899 . . .	541,000	18.82	415,000	12.56	623,000	14.13
3. National Municipal League Committee : (a) On January 1, 1898	489,853	20.78	318,645	16.39	542,612	16.23
(b) On June 1, 1898	493,094	20.65	319,885	16.29	548,102	16.07
No. of deaths in 1898	10,180	..	5,211	..	8,805	..

Further evidence of a lack of system in estimating population is found in these facts : (1) the Health Department of Baltimore used the same estimate of population, viz., 541,000 in computing death rates for 1898, 1899, 1900 ; (2) the Health Department of Cincinnati, used its estimate of population

viz., 405,000, in deriving its official death rates for the years 1897, 1898 and 1899; (3) the Health Department of St. Louis based its official death rates for 1898 and 1899 on the same estimated population, viz., 623,000; and (4) the revised death rates of the United States Labor Department for 1898 were based on its estimate of population on January 1, 1899; for 1899, on the census figures of June 1, 1900; and for 1900 on the same estimate of population, viz., the census figures of June 1, 1900, as was used in determining the death rates for 1899.

The following table (giving total and per capita expenditures for "lighting" and "Education" in the cities of Baltimore, Cincinnati and St. Louis, in 1898, according to various estimates of population of these cities) shows the futility of attempting to compare the per capita cost of the same kinds of service when uniformity of method in estimating population is lacking:

Estimates of Population for 1898 by

CITIES	1. Mr. Herrmann	2. Health Department	National Municipal League Committee		5. United States Labor Depart- ment January 1, 1899
			*Rate of growth 1880-1890	†Rate of growth 1890-1900	
Baltimore .	500,000	541,000	538,312	493,094	541,000
Cincinnati .	410,000	405,000	335,195	319,885	415,000
St. Louis .	623,000	623,000	553,456	548,102	623,000

Per Capita Expenditures on Estimated Population by

CITIES	Expenditures for Lighting	1. Mr. Herr- mann	2. Health Depart- ment	National Municipal League Committee		5. United States Labor Depart- ment
				*Rate of growth 1880-1890	†Rate of growth 1890-1900	
Baltimore .	\$375,000	\$0 75	\$0 69	\$0 70	\$0 76	\$0 69
Cincinnati .	335,140	82	83	99	1 05	80
St. Louis .	377,594	61	61	68	68	61
	Expenditures for Education					
Baltimore .	\$1,430,000	2 86	2 64	2 66	2 90	2 64
Cincinnati .	1,275,100	3 11	3 15	3 80	3 99	3 07
St. Louis .	1,957,000	3 14	3 14	3 54	3 57	3 14

* The rate of growth, 1880-1890, was as follows, for Baltimore, 30.73; Cincinnati, 16.37; St. Louis, 28.89.

† The rate of growth, 1890-1900, was as follows, for Baltimore, 17.15; Cincinnati, 9.77; St. Louis, 27.33.

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**Federal
Municipal
Statistics.** Striking evidence of the difficulty of compiling comparative municipal statistics on a large scale is afforded by the experience of the United States Department of Labor, which was authorized by Act of Congress, in July, 1893, "to compile and publish annually an abstract of the main features of the official statistics of the cities of the United States having over 50,000 population." The original plan of the Department was to use published reports. This plan was soon abandoned, owing to the lack of uniformity in the reports, and to many cases in the lack of reports themselves. A schedule of inquiries was therefore prepared, and the work taken in by the special agents of the Department by personal visits to the various officials of the cities coming within the scope of the investigation.

The Department has published in its Bulletin four series of tables, entitled "Statistics of Cities," for 1893, 1899, 1900 and 1901 respectively. The abstract for 1893 included 137 cities. With a view to giving additional information the number of the tables has been increased from eighteen for 1893 to twenty-five for 1901. Despite the use of uniform schedules by special agents in the collection of data, the published death rates and per capita estimates of expenditures for the several years included in the period 1893-1901 seem not to be strictly comparable with each other. Estimated population is a datum of fundamental importance in computing death rates and per capita estimates. Yet inspection of the tables set forth in the Bulletins of the Labor Department shows that a uniform method of estimating population was not followed in each of the four years. Death rates, etc., for 1893 were based on the estimated population for January 1, 1893, and the death rates for 1901 on a similar estimate for January 1, 1901, while the death rates, etc., for 1899 and 1900 were based on the census returns for June 1, 1900.

Moreover, it seems clear that the agents have not always been able to secure uniform data in respect to the financial operations of certain cities. Thus the City of Boston is credited with \$3,377,593 receipts from liquor licenses in the four years

1898-1901, inclusive, no allowance being made of the fact that under the law twenty-five per cent of the receipts from such licenses were turned over to the State of Massachusetts. The city's income from this source, for the four years, was overstated by \$1,469,399, or \$367,350 a year on the average.

Again, there was evident diversity of method in different years, at least so far as the financial statistics for Boston are concerned,

Diversity from Year to Year. in the treatment of loans and the payment of debt. In that city temporary loans in anticipation of taxes are used chiefly to defray current expenses, and are paid in full during the year in which they are issued. The law forbids considering them in determining the debt limit. In the Bulletin for 1898 temporary loans form no part of the income from loans. In that year they amounted to \$3,500,000. They rose from \$4,210,000 in 1899 to \$6,500,000 in 1901; and help to make up the total under "Loans" in each of the years 1899-1901, but are not separately shown, on either side of the account, except in 1901. "Liquidation of Debt" in 1898 included bonds redeemed, but not temporary loans. In 1899, temporary loans were included. They were included also in "Loans Repaid" in 1900, and in 1901, being separately shown for the last-named year. Payments from the sinking fund for the redemption of debt are expressly excluded from "Loans Repaid" in 1900 and 1901, so that it is difficult to discover from these figures how much the funded debt was reduced in either of those years. The Bulletin gives \$17,356,000 as the amount of Boston's income from "Loans" in 1899, whereas the amount of debt created in that year by the issue of bonds was only \$8,740,000, the remainder of the amount specified being made up of (1) temporary loans, in anticipation of taxes, \$4,210,000, and (2) \$4,396,000, paid to the treasurer from the Sinking Funds, for the redemption of debt. The last-mentioned amount was not a loan in any sense.

I have compiled a table from "No. 42 of the Bulletin of the Department of Labor, September, 1902," showing the "Temporary Loans" and "Loans Repaid" for the ten largest cities of the United States in 1901, but omit the table here for lack of

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space. St. Louis, Baltimore, Buffalo, San Francisco and Cincinnati appear to have issued no temporary loans during the year. The following table, for the remaining five cities, sets forth with respect to temporary loans and bonds running less than two years: (1) The percentage of such loans to the income for the year from loans of all kinds, and (2) the percentage of such loans to total receipts for the year.

Table Showing Percentage in 1901 of

NAMES OF CITIES	1. Temporary Loans, etc. to all Loans	2. Tempor- ary Loans, etc. Total Receipts
1. New York	64.13	30.63
2. Chicago	91.92	13.25
3. Philadelphia	11.73	2.43
4. Boston	52.12	13.25
5. Cleveland	38.88	5.34

Inspection of the foregoing table indicates a considerable diversity of policy in the issuance of temporary loans in the cities named. It should be noted that a further reason for exercising caution in comparing the income derived from temporary loans in the above-mentioned cities is found in the fact that in 1901 the amount of temporary loans repaid exceeded the amount issued in Chicago and Philadelphia, being less in New York and Cleveland, while in Boston, as is customarily the case, temporary loans repaid exactly equaled temporary loans issued.

It is our belief that municipal statistics, like charity, should begin at home; that they should relate to the objects and needs of local administration and be prepared **Conclusions.** with the primary purpose of enlightening a local public opinion and of serving local authorities as the basis for intelligent action. Know thyself, is an injunction which applies as well to cities as to individuals. So long as a city does not know itself it cannot know other cities, or compare itself with them, or profit largely by their experience. The sooner our leading cities are led to insist upon having simple and intelligible financial and statistical reports furnished by their own servants for home use, the

sooner will the public and official mind become responsive to the demands of such bodies as this for the adoption of more modern and scientific methods of book-keeping and house-keeping by all cities; and the sooner will it become possible for the students of municipal affairs and for state and national officials and bureaus to secure from city officials and publications such information as is usually unattainable now.

We are not disposed to underrate the importance of concerted action in this matter on the part of representative associations of scientific and professional men; but would emphasize the fact that our efforts are likely to prove abortive unless the present undeveloped state of the art of municipal house-keeping and book-keeping, in most cities, is borne in mind. In discussing plans and devising measures to secure reasonable uniformity in municipal accounting and statistics, we do well to recognize the standards of idealistic seekers after scientific truth; but we should not lose sight of the fact that, in practice, we shall have to depend, for the most part, upon other kinds of men for some time to come.

The domain of American municipal statistics, using the term in its scientific sense, presents such wide areas of unsettled, not to say unexplored, territory that, as I have already intimated, it seems a wiser policy, for the present, to postpone ambitious schemes of expansion until our home fields have been subjected to a more intensive and productive system of cultivation than is yet common.

For the Committee,

EDWARD M. HARTWELL, *Chairman.*

Chicago Accounting Reform

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As Secretary of your Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounts, I am requested to report on the Chicago situation. This report was to have been rendered by Mr. Haskins. His long professional experience had made him an authority, and his appreciation of the need for a broader basis for the classification of municipal accounts had brought him into enthusiastic co-operation with those expert accountants who make up the working membership of your Committee. What is more to the point, his accounting firm for the last two years has had immediate charge of the installation of the new system on which this report is to be based. Mr. Haskins' sudden death, occur-

ring only a week after the last meeting of your Charles Waldo Haskins. Committee at his home in New York, together

with the expressed desire of your Secretary to have this—the largest accounting operation to which the schedules of the Committee have been applied—reported on at this time, are the conditions under which this hastily prepared essay is undertaken.

Two years ago Mr. Haskins made a brief report to the Municipal League on the subject in hand. His professional firm had then just entered on an investigation which has led to the present result. In this preliminary report Mr. Haskins set forth some of the conditions which made necessary a revision of the financial records of the city. The situation was gone into in greater detail in his report to the Merchants' Club. For perspective, these conditions may be briefly restated: Within fifty years Chicago had grown from a village to a municipality of two millions; it had begun with the small town organization; as its population and territorial jurisdiction had spread over the surrounding prairies and swamps, these

primitive local town governments had been incorporated by consolidation rather than by process of readjustment and reorganization. The municipal child had so rapidly grown to manhood that its political dress was a constant misfit; its clothes were too small and the neighboring youths over which it stood as a foster brother refused to give the cloth necessary to complete a decent cloak of authority;—the last pattern was designed for a city of about one-fourth its present size.

The City of Chicago had finally come to include more than twenty separate taxing jurisdictions, over which it had little control and between which there was no well-defined method of coöperation for common ends; the financial side of the administration had become unmanageable and the government in all of its activities was crippled. Recognition of this situation on the part of both citizens and administration was the first step toward reform. Citizen activity and discontent were in evidence on every side. The administration had four grave facts confronting it which seemed to reflect on

The Situation. the government. In the first place, court judgments had gradually accumulated against the corporation until, on January 1, 1900, they were known to amount to over three million dollars; these, however, had not been properly incorporated into the accounts of the city. In the second place, it was found that the funded debt of the city was much larger than represented on the books. In the third place, it was discovered by the Comptroller that previous administrations had been using trust funds for running expenses. In the fourth place, the methods of accounting in use failed to show the amount of taxes assessed and collected. That something must be done was apparent, and in the face of an active public opinion the administration was in such position that it could protect itself only by a thorough revision of accounts.

The Mayor of the City of Chicago was alive both to the public demand and to the probable results of public censure in case his own incumbency were not relieved from suspicions which were sure to follow. In his annual message he commended the insistent

agitation of citizens for municipal reorganization and for central control; he urged the "welding of the present taxing bodies exercising municipal functions within the limits of Chicago into a harmonious whole, by which useless officers may be dispensed with and all the various municipal functions may be combined intelligently under individual control."

The means adopted to accomplish this end were largely the result of the activity of an independent citizen organization—the Merchants' Club. This was one of the many independent bodies of public-spirited business men who had interested The Merchants' Club. themselves in the problems of municipal reform, and who were working in harmony with the Mayor.

As a business proposition, the Merchants' Club was first to recognize the necessity for a thorough and well-adapted system of accounts. Such a method appealed to their practical judgment as the first result to be obtained before any sound thinking might be done about present financial condition or future administrative action. This organization, therefore, requested of the Mayor permission to have an independent investigation of the city's accounting methods. The request was granted, and a firm of well-known experts was employed. The preliminary investigation lasted several months, a report being made to the Merchants' Club March 21, 1901.

Reporting on accounting methods, the investigation showed (1) that although improvements had been introduced by the administration within the two years preceding, there was still a lack of uniformity and a confusion of methods inherited from the past which practically made the records of the city unavailable for any administrative purpose; (2) that the accounts with different city departments, as shown on the books of the Comptroller in many instances, did not agree with the same accounts on the books kept by the departments themselves; (3) that there was no adequate system of audit and no way of bringing the various accounts into harmony; (4) that the Comptroller lacked the authority in many instances to compel a uniform method, and had not adequate power to inspect or

audit before authorizing disbursement; (5) that there was such variety in the methods of disbursements as to make auditing and verification difficult, even if adequate authority were given; (6) that in the records of receipts and disbursements, both ordinary and extraordinary receipts were accredited to the general funds and subsequently distributed, so that the general accounts in many instances did not furnish an intelligent statement of operating expense as distinct from construction and other permanent accounts; (7) that all warrants drawn on the Treasurer were paid by him, by means of his own private check, and these were not a part of the public records; (8) that entries and judgments of valuation were made against the "stock account," or what under other systems is known as a Profit and Loss account, thus making statements of current revenues and expenses more uncertain; (9) that the Treasurer's special assessment cash-books were frequently destroyed, thus leaving a large amount of trust funds without books of original entry; (10) that errors and discrepancies of account were adjusted by "posting" a balance without investigation of the errors or discrepancies; (11) that the item "cash," as shown in the general balance-sheets rendered, was stated without regard to the funds to which the cash belonged, thus giving a false impression as to available assets; (12) that the records of disbursements in the Comptroller's office were incomplete and defective; (13) that there was no record in the Comptroller's office of compensation in arrears, and no record of departmental materials and supplies; (14) that no proper record was kept of current or fixed liabilities of the city, and the city had no means of finding out the extent of its present indebtedness.

The report, however, did not stop here. It went into the financial and economic aspects of the situation as well. In reference to the revenue system it was shown (1) that adequate provision was not made for meeting the current expenses of the city. In so far as the city relied on taxation for revenue, taxes for the current year were levied on April 1, and were not payable until December;—in other words, the current

Financial and Economic Aspects.

revenue did not anticipate current expense. In order to underwrite assessed but not collected, therefore, as available resources, the city was required to borrow in anticipation of taxes to be collected during about ten months of the year, and to pay over an average about four per cent for the advances. To facilitate this kind of borrowing, a law had been enacted which allowed the Treasurer to issue tax warrants against city account books so as to the extent of 7½ per cent of the amount due to the city. Such arrangements had been made to cover the expenses of the water department. When no revenues were taken in advance of services rendered, it was necessary to make up the difference between the amount of taxes collected and the amount of taxes estimated by the city engineer and his officers. Taxes levied were to be assessed at a rate known as Town Tax, and the amount of taxes so assessed was to be paid in advance of services rendered, and the amount so paid was to be converted into an account of the city engineer, called Collector. Taxes levied were to be assessed at a rate known as Town Tax, and the amount of taxes so assessed was to be paid in advance of services rendered, and the amount so paid was to be converted into an account of the city engineer, called Collector.

Year	Amount	Year	Amount
1880	\$1,000,000	1881	\$1,000,000
1882	\$1,000,000	1883	\$1,000,000
1884	\$1,000,000	1885	\$1,000,000
1886	\$1,000,000	1887	\$1,000,000
1888	\$1,000,000	1889	\$1,000,000
1890	\$1,000,000	1891	\$1,000,000
1892	\$1,000,000	1893	\$1,000,000
1894	\$1,000,000	1895	\$1,000,000
1896	\$1,000,000	1897	\$1,000,000
1898	\$1,000,000	1899	\$1,000,000
1900	\$1,000,000	1901	\$1,000,000
1902	\$1,000,000	1903	\$1,000,000
1904	\$1,000,000	1905	\$1,000,000
1906	\$1,000,000	1907	\$1,000,000
1908	\$1,000,000	1909	\$1,000,000
1910	\$1,000,000	1911	\$1,000,000
1912	\$1,000,000	1913	\$1,000,000
1914	\$1,000,000	1915	\$1,000,000
1916	\$1,000,000	1917	\$1,000,000
1918	\$1,000,000	1919	\$1,000,000
1920	\$1,000,000	1921	\$1,000,000
1922	\$1,000,000	1923	\$1,000,000
1924	\$1,000,000	1925	\$1,000,000
1926	\$1,000,000	1927	\$1,000,000
1928	\$1,000,000	1929	\$1,000,000
1930	\$1,000,000	1931	\$1,000,000
1932	\$1,000,000	1933	\$1,000,000
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1972	\$1,000,000	1973	\$1,000,000
1974	\$1,000,000	1975	\$1,000,000
1976	\$1,000,000	1977	\$1,000,000
1978	\$1,000,000	1979	\$1,000,000
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2010	\$1,000,000	2011	\$1,000,000
2012	\$1,000,000	2013	\$1,000,000
2014	\$1,000,000	2015	\$1,000,000
2016	\$1,000,000	2017	\$1,000,000
2018	\$1,000,000	2019	\$1,000,000
2020	\$1,000,000	2021	\$1,000,000
2022	\$1,000,000	2023	\$1,000,000
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2026	\$1,000,000	2027	\$1,000,000
2028	\$1,000,000	2029	\$1,000,000
2030	\$1,000,000	2031	\$1,000,000
2032	\$1,000,000	2033	\$1,000,000
2034	\$1,000,000	2035	\$1,000,000
2036	\$1,000,000	2037	\$1,000,000
2038	\$1,000,000	2039	\$1,000,000
2040	\$1,000,000	2041	\$1,000,000
2042	\$1,000,000	2043	\$1,000,000
2044	\$1,000,000	2045	\$1,000,000
2046	\$1,000,000	2047	\$1,000,000
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2056	\$1,000,000	2057	\$1,000,000
2058	\$1,000,000	2059	\$1,000,000
2060	\$1,000,000	2061	\$1,000,000
2062	\$1,000,000	2063	\$1,000,000
2064	\$1,000,000	2065	\$1,000,000
2066	\$1,000,000	2067	\$1,000,000
2068	\$1,000,000	2069	\$1,000,000
2070	\$1,000,000	2071	\$1,000,000
2072	\$1,000,000	2073	\$1,000,000
2074	\$1,000,000	2075	\$1,000,000
2076	\$1,000,000	2077	\$1,000,000
2078	\$1,000,000	2079	\$1,000,000
2080	\$1,000,000	2081	\$1,000,000
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2084	\$1,000,000	2085	\$1,000,000
2086	\$1,000,000	2087	\$1,000,000
2088	\$1,000,000	2089	\$1,000,000
2090	\$1,000,000	2091	\$1,000,000
2092	\$1,000,000	2093	\$1,000,000
2094	\$1,000,000	2095	\$1,000,000
2096	\$1,000,000	2097	\$1,000,000
2098	\$1,000,000	2099	\$1,000,000
20100	\$1,000,000	20101	\$1,000,000

mere representation of the Town or County Collector without investigation, audit or inquiry. Such losses, according to the report of the Comptroller, amounted to about \$500,000 per annum. (5) There was no record on the Comptroller's books of adjustments, such as taxes uncollectible or held in abeyance, and no record of taxes in arrears. The collection of franchise taxes was under a separate bureau, and returns of this class were received without question or audit. In two cases it was shown that neither car licenses nor mileage licenses had been collected for five years; the records were incomplete and unreliable. Considerable loss was entailed on these accounts. (6) Special assessments, while under the administrative direction of a local improvement board, because of an inadequate system of accounting, had been a large expense to the city. The expenses for interest resulting from withholding the collection of such assessments were shown to be very large. (7) The water-works and other municipal industries were bureaus of a general department of public works, in which there were no adequate accounting provisions for showing the operations of the public industries. (8) The method of payment of city employees in cash by sending the paymaster's wagon from place to place where men congregated was a waste of time and, therefore, a charge on the city, while the method of paying the police and other regularly employed persons in the service tended to interfere with the duties to which they were assigned. (9) The real estate record was so inaccurate and so poorly kept that the city had allowed many of its rights to lapse, and the city had suffered loss on this account.

From the report thus submitted it became evident that the first judgment of the members of the Merchants' Club was fully justified; that the place where municipal reform must begin was with the accounts and financial records of the city, in order to reduce them to such order as to make the data available as a basis for political action and administrative control. This report having been laid before the Mayor, an ordinance was drafted and passed authorizing Haskins & Sells, certified public account-

ants, to install a new system of accounts, and to supervise its operation during the first year after installation.

To detail the auditing and accounting difficulties of the City of Chicago prior to the introduction of the new system would be to little purpose, per se. Ours is not a historical interest; our attention is fixed on the present and on the future. A perspective of past conditions is of value only as a background from which we can mark progress. For the present purpose, two questions are before us: (1) Those interested in the general work of the National Municipal League wish to know the extent of the reform accomplished—the progress made by the introduction of a new system of accounts; (2) the Committee on Uniform Accounting are interested in knowing whether the schedules and classification of financial data proposed by them as a basis for scientific and uniform accounting will apply to such a situation as that described. The first is a local question; the second is a general one. The work of the Committee has been directed toward the establishment of a common basis for municipal financial records as a first premise for thinking about common problems of administration and enlightened citizenship.

Answering the first question, we turn to the official report of the Comptroller of the City of Chicago just issued. The features of the new system as there set forth are as follows: “(1) Uniformity in accounting methods. (2) Concentration of the accounting in the Comptroller’s office. (3) Collection of all revenue by the City Collector. (4) Daily remittances.

Features of New System. (5) Monthly reports and balances between the Comptroller and all departments. (6) Monthly financial report of the Comptroller. (7) Organization of an Audit Bureau and of a methodical plan of auditing by officers and employees retained specially for that purpose, and independent of all departments. (8) Accrue-
ment of revenues on the General Books of the City, where they will always be evident as obligations due the city until paid. (9) Approval of all contracts and requisitions for supplies by the Comptroller, to prevent departments from incurring liabilities in excess of appropriation. (10) The issuance of

all fiscal stationery, forms and receipts, consecutively numbered by the Comptroller, and holding the departments responsible for their use or cancellation. (11) The use of graduated stubs or carbon receipts to check the collection of money. (12) The establishment of a complete chain of accounting, from the inception of revenue or expense throughout the various branches of the city to the Comptroller's office, where all the accounting is finally centralized.

"The financial operations of the city are summarized in the monthly report compiled in the Comptroller's office not later than the twentieth of each month, for the preceding month. This report shows: (1) Balance Sheet. The financial condition of the city at the end of the month, as compared

Monthly Reports as a Feature. with the same month of the previous year, and the resultant increases and decreases during

the year. The Balance Sheet is so classified as to show the financial condition of the municipality in its relation to the City Corporate, the Trust Funds, the Water-Works, the Schools and the Library. Schedules supporting the Balance Sheet show the necessary details. (2) The Revenue* and Expenses† for the month, compared with the same month of the previous year and of the elapsed period of the current fiscal year, compared with the corresponding period of the previous year. (3) The Expenditures authorized by the appropriation ordinance remaining unexpended, and the percentage of the appropriations expended. The Revenue, Expenses and Appropriations are shown in detail, segregated, first, as between City Corporate, the Trust Funds, the Water-Works, the Schools and the Library, and, second, between Ordinary Revenue and Expenses and Extraordinary Revenue and Expenses. Ordinary Revenue represents the income from taxation, licenses, fees, etc. Extraordinary Revenue represents income which creates a liability to be liquidated at some future date, as, for example, bonds or water certificates sold, or income which is derived from a decrease in the fixed

*Revenue indicates the revenue of the city pertaining to the period, whether collected or to be collected.

†Expenses indicate the expenses of the city, incurred on account of the period, whether these expenses have been paid or are to be paid.

assets of the city, such as the sale of buildings, lands, etc. Ordinary Expenses represent the amount expended in conducting the City Government, maintenance, repairs, operation, etc. Extraordinary Expenses represent the amount expended to increase the fixed assets, such as the purchase of lands, erection of new buildings, construction of additional sewers, etc."

The same report also tells us something about the success of this new system during the time that it has been in operation. "All departments of the City Government have been operating thereunder during the past year. The change from the old to the new method was accomplished without confusion or detriment to the conduct of public business, and the detailed workings of the new system have progressed without friction. It is now evident that the system has proved an advantage to the City Government; that it has improved the efficiency of individual employees and promoted an intelligent and interested direction of their efforts by departmental heads." From the point of view of economy, the Comptroller also shows that during the past year there has been a reduction in running expenses amounting to \$72,630, and alludes to this decrease in expense as a permanent economy. The

savings to various departments of the service
Saving Effected. brought about through increased efficiency and reduction of clerical force are given in detail, as follows:

Civil Service Commission	\$3,750 00
Bureau of Local Improvements	3,240 00
Police Department	5,500 00
Department of Supplies	1,800 00
Fire Department	2,400 00
City Clerk	5,100 00
Boiler Inspector	1,000 00
Board of Examining Engineers	900 00
Comptroller's Office	4,600 00
City Collector	<u>12,440 00</u>
Total Corporate	<u>\$40,730 00</u>

PUBLIC LIBRARY—

Secretary's Office	\$1,250 00
Reference Department	1,300 00
Circulating Department	2,560 00
Total Library	<u>\$5,110 00</u>

WATER-WORKS—

Water Pipe Extension	\$8,000 00
Pumping Stations	6,300 00
Collection Division, Water Office	12,500 00
Total Water-Works	<u>\$26,800 00</u>

RECAPITULATION—

Total Corporate	\$40,730 00
Total Library	5,100 00
Total Water	26,800 00
Total reduction	<u>\$72,630 00</u>

Moreover, the Mayor, by official acknowledgment, has confirmed the first judgment of the accountants as to the increase in revenue which would be effected by an efficient system of central control. Besides an increase of over \$600,000 in revenue from direct taxation, there has been an increase in the revenues from various departments of government, as follows:

	1902	1901	Increase
Licenses	\$3,770,735 37	\$3,633,017 73	\$137,717 64
Police Justice Courts	110,334 33	98,213 16	12,121 17
House of Correction	111,105 96	88,303 93	22,802 03
Police Department	15,740 42	7,968 84	7,771 58
Public Pounds	2,519 46	1,454 76	1,064 70
Department of Buildings	75,265 30	66,317 85	8,947 45
Department of Electricity	51,904 51	27,818 95	24,085 56
Department of Public Works	127,564 64	98,313 57	29,251 07
Insurance Tax	158,702 18	151,013 40	7,688 78
Other	860,642 64	771,433 00	89,209 64
Total	\$5,284,514 81	\$4,943,855 19	\$340,659 62

The total of decreased expense and increased revenues of the city seems to be close to a million dollars. Without going further into detail more than to refer the reader to the final

report, it may be said that, from the point of view of municipal reform, the new system of accounts has laid the foundation for effective administration, and that the reports based on this system give to the citizen a well-classified digest of financial results, supplemented by schedules in sufficient detail to allow the citizen to obtain a comprehensive knowledge of the affairs of the municipality.

Before undertaking a critical examination of the new system for the purposes of the second inquiry, it may be said by way of introduction that, at the time the work of audit and reorganization was begun, our own Committee had not yet settled its general accounting program. Nor had we definitely formulated our schedules; moreover, those in charge of the Chicago operation were required to act promptly, and to recommend to the Mayor and Council a definite program for such final action as was necessary to get authority to make needful changes in records and administrative machinery. It was June 24, 1901, when the Council authorized the Mayor, Comptroller and Chairman of the Committee on Finance to engage the services of an independent firm of accountants. On November 20, 1901, Haskins & Sells submitted a report not only outlining the general system of municipal accounts to be followed, but also furnishing detailed schedules defining the operations of the system in each of the various departments, bureaus and offices of the City Government. The details reported went so

The Work of Audit and Reorganization. far as to prescribe all the necessary books, blanks and reports. In preparing the general outlines of the plan, one member of our Committee was brought into advisory relation with the certified public accountants in control, one of whom was also a member of your Committee; hence the new plan had the direction or advice of two of our members. This report covered 236 printed pages, and included a revision of all ordinances which conflicted with the proposed system and drafts for new ordinances required. On December 23, 1901, the City Council passed an ordinance making the system as shown in their report, "with all accompanying exhibits submitted," the final accounting and auditing system of the City of Chicago.

Another fact must also be taken into account: That, without precedents to guide and to govern, those who had charge of the Chicago operation had to face local conditions which were by practice traditional, and the inertia of a body of administrative agents that stood like an army trained to tactics that they well understood but which the accountants in charge were asking them to discard for new ones. Local traditions, local ordinances and local statutes were to be reckoned with. The new system once inaugurated by ordinance and fortified by practice of a large administrative body must stand as placed until again strong reason is shown for change.

While the schedules of the Committee, therefore, have been undergoing constant change, the work at Chicago some two years ago assumed a permanent form, and must be regarded in the light of its creation. It may be further said that the schedules of the Committee adopted on January 2, 1903, have been drawn from the accounting experience of members, beginning with small places like Brookline, Massachusetts, and extending locally over other cities until finally, during the last year under Ohio's code, they have been brought to the test in application to all cities in that populous state. From this varied experience the members of the Committee have completed their general schedules with reference to municipal revenues, expenditures and appropriations; but the schedules and statements of final condition, as shown in the balance sheet and exhibits ancillary thereto, have not been formally taken up. This part of this work is still in the hands of a sub-committee.

With these explanations, we take up for technical examination the system of accounts introduced into the City of Chicago.

Technical Examination. Having no balance sheet for comparison, except that which is to be reported by the sub-committee at this session, the one worked out for the City of Chicago seems to have such special value that it is incorporated here:

**CORPORATE PURPOSES—COMPARATIVE GENERAL BALANCE SHEET—
DECEMBER 31, 1902 AND 1901**

ASSETS	1902	1901	Increase	Decrease
Current Assets:				
Cash:				
In hands of City Treasurer for Corporate Purposes	\$37,098 35	\$460,808 77	. . . . .	\$423,710 42
Petty cash in departments	5,950 00	5,000 00	. . . . .	. . . . .
Paymaster	144,503 68	18,957 95	125,547 73	. . . . .
Deposited to pay maturing bonds and coupons—				
With American Exchange National Bank, New York	318,443 30	251,860 55	66,582 75	. . . . .
With Merchants' Loan and Trust Company, Chicago		5,000 00	. . . . .	5,000 00
Total Cash Corporate Purposes	\$905,997 33	\$741,627 27	. . . . .	\$235,699 94
Accounts Receivable	639,392 49	. . . . .	639,392 49	. . . . .
Taxes in hands of county authorities for collection, after deducting amount of anticipation tax warrants issued against such taxes and accrued interest thereon	1,663,397 04	2,076,895 08	. . . . .	413,498 04
Delinquent taxes of 1901, in hands of County Collector for Collection	157,990 50	. . . . .	157,990 50	. . . . .
Department of Supplies—Warehouse Stock	11,643 81	12,164 08	. . . . .	529 27
Total Current Assets	\$2,978,412 17	\$2,830,686 43	\$147,725 74	. . . . .
Contingent Assets:				
Uncollected sewer Tax	5,345 80	5,345 80	. . . . .	. . . . .
Norwood Park tax certificates	596 78	596 78	. . . . .	. . . . .
P. Radieski—Shortage	6,702 84	6,702 84	. . . . .	. . . . .
Total Contingent Assets	\$12,645 42	\$12,645 42	. . . . .	. . . . .
Total Current and Contingent Assets	2,991,057 59	\$2,843,331 85	\$147,725 74	. . . . .
Fixed Assets:				
Real estate (Schedule No. 2)	2,265,332 39	2,119,227 24	146,105 15	. . . . .
Buildings (Schedule No. 2)	4,101,248 25	4,152,407 40	. . . . .	51,159 15
Equipment (Schedule No. 2)	4,593,312 13	4,392,036 27	111,275 86	. . . . .
Mortgages and wharfing privileges (Schedule No. 3)	25,247 04	25,247 04	. . . . .	. . . . .
Total Fixed Assets	\$10,895,139 81	\$10,688,917 95	\$206,221 86	. . . . .
Excess of Deferred Liabilities and Bonds over Fixed Assets	9,824,290 01	9,512,574 46	311,715 55	. . . . .
Total	\$20,719,429 82	\$20,201,492 41	\$517,937 41	. . . . .
Grand Total	\$23,710,487 41	\$23,044,824 26	\$665,663 15	. . . . .

**CORPORATE PURPOSES—COMPARATIVE GENERAL BALANCE SHEET—
DECEMBER 31, 1902 AND 1901—Continued**

LIABILITIES	1902	1901	Increase	Decrease
Current Liabilities:				
Audited vouchers	\$426,945 96	\$1,119,091 76	· · · · ·	\$692,145 80
Bonds matured and unpaid	8,600 00	19,700 00	· · · · ·	11,100 00
Interest due and unpaid	309,843 30	237,160 55	\$72,682 75	· · · · ·
Payrolls unpaid	144,505 68	18,957 95	125,547 73	· · · · ·
Wages unclaimed	6,155 64	6,254 19	· · · · ·	98 55
Warrants unclaimed	· · · · ·	331 53	· · · · ·	331 53
Time warrants unpaid	810 33	810 33	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Boiler Inspector—Temporary Account	336 00	336 00	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
People's Gas Light and Coke Company —Equipment of Street Lamps Account	3,965 09	4,050 00	· · · · ·	85 00
H. C. McDonald—Removal of Dead Animal Contract	· · · · ·	1,000 00	· · · · ·	1,000 00
Bid and guarantee deposits	649 50	10,165 05	· · · · ·	9,515 55
Subscriptions to public baths	6 59	6 59	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Vehicle and bicycle tax repayable	733 50	734 25	· · · · ·	75
Suspense Account	25,179 44	26,744 25	· · · · ·	1,564 81
Uniform Stock Account	402 88	508 46	· · · · ·	105 58
City Employees' Transportation Ac- count	6,696 70	275 92	6,420 78	· · · · ·
Judgments and costs, appropriated for Reserve for cost and deficiency in the collection of taxes	14,248 98	24,380 44	· · · · ·	10,131 46
Reserve for uncompleted contracts and unexpended appropriations of 1902 (Schedule No. 1)	240,243 01	174,335 59	65,907 42	· · · · ·
Reserve for doubtful accounts	225,163 81	· · · · ·	225,163 81	· · · · ·
	43,467 59	· · · · ·	43,467 59	· · · · ·
Total Current Liabilities	\$1,457,954 00	\$1,644,842 95	· · · · ·	\$186,888 95
Excess of Current and Contingent Assets over Current Liabilities	-\$1,33,103 59	-\$1,198,488 90	\$334,614 69	· · · · ·
Total	\$2,991,057 59	\$2,843,331 85	\$147,725 74	· · · · ·
Deferred Liabilities:				
City of Chicago—Trust Funds Account	1,383,232 53	1,183,682 83	199,549 70	· · · · ·
Judgments	4,213,197 20	3,547,809 58	665,387 73	· · · · ·
Total Deferred Liabilities	\$5,596,429 82	\$4,731,492 41	\$864,937 41	· · · · ·
City of Chicago Bonds:				
Municipal	835,000 00	835,000 00	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Tunnel	490,000 00	490,000 00	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Sewerage Loan	2,124,500 00	2,124,500 00	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
River Improvement	2,605,500 00	2,605,500 00	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
School	895,000 00	895,000 00	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Village of Rogers Park	7,000 00	7,000 00	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Water	3,643,0 00	3,990,000 00	· · · · ·	\$347,000 00
World's Fair Bonds	4,517,000 00	4,517,000 00	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Total Bonds (Schedule No. 4)	\$15,123,000 00	\$15,470,000 00	· · · · ·	\$347,000 00
Total Deferred Liabilities and Bonds	\$20,719,429 82	\$20,201,492 41	\$517,937 41	· · · · ·
Grand Total	\$23,710,487 41	\$23,044,824 26	\$665,663 15	· · · · ·

Referring to these, several items may be mentioned:
(1) Attention is called to the title "cash" under current assets, in which is to be noted that it is subdivided to show the several departments or funds to which the cash belongs;

(2) the last item under current assets "department of supplies—warehouse stock" may be questioned. Technical objection may possibly be raised as to whether or not warehouse stock is to be considered a current asset, against which current liabilities may be set off; (3) it is to be noted that under the heading "contingent assets" the items are set up in detail;

The (4) another important feature is found under Balance Sheet. the title "fixed assets," from which it appears that complete supplementary schedules of "real estate," "buildings," "equipment" and "mortgages" are made a part of the report. These schedules, under the ordinance, are required and serve as inventories of municipal properties, which are published for the information of the people.

On the liabilities side of the balance sheet it is to be noted (1) that the current liabilities are minutely classified; (2) that reserves have been set up against current assets—(a) "for cost and deficiency in collection of taxes; (b) for uncompleted contracts and unexpended appropriations of 1902; (c) for doubtful accounts; it further appears that the second reserve referred to is itemized on pages 48 and 49 of the Report of the Comptroller, and the schedule there found is one of the forms prescribed under the new system adopted by the city; (3) under the heading "Deferred Liabilities" are found all of the over-drafts on "trust funds" and "judgments" for which the city is liable; (4) the bonded debt of the city is set out in full and classified and further illuminated by schedule, which is also a required form; (5) the surplus account is also fully illuminated by schedule. Looking to the balance sheet as a whole, it conforms to the best canons of accounting, and is in thorough alignment with the work of the Committee, so far as it has gone. It is here set forth for the purposes of comparison with the balance sheet used in Ohio and in other operations to be reported by others at this session.

The schedules of the Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounts adopted January 2 last, reduces revenues, expenditures and appropriations to the same basis of general classification. The report of Mr. Chase on the schedules adopted

by Ohio as a basis for uniform municipal accounting in that state shows the same classification. In adopting the schedules for the City of Chicago this uniformity of classification is not observed. The "revenues," "expenses" and "expenditures authorized by appropriation ordinances" each have a separate grouping. Revenues are divided into (1) taxes, (2) licenses,

Classification of Revenue Accounts. and (3) miscellaneous. Under what is called miscellaneous revenue, however, the various departments of government are set out in detail, so that the several items and summaries may be redistributed under the classification proposed by your Committee for purposes of comparative study :

MISCELLANEOUS REVENUE—CORPORATE PURPOSES BY DEPARTMENTS AND MONTHS—YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1902

Dept. No.	ACCOUNT
0	Mayor's Office—Auctioneers, Permits
1	City Clerk—Miscellaneous
2	Corporation Counsel's Office
3	Prosecuting Attorney's Office
4	City Attorney's Office
5	Department of Finance—Comptroller's Office
6	Finance Department—City Treasurer
8	Finance Department—Miscellaneous
9 A	Police Department—Special Details and Appointments
9 C	Police Department—Miscellaneous
10 A	Police Justice Courts—Fines and Forfeitures
10 B	Police Justice Courts—Miscellaneous
11 A	House of Correction—Fines
11 B	House of Correction—Sale of Produce
11 C	House of Correction—Laundry Work
11 D	House of Correction—Boarding Prisoners
11 E	House of Correction—Miscellaneous
13 A	Public Pounds—Dogs
13 B	Public Pounds—Other
14	Fire Department
15 A	Department of Buildings—Permits
15 B	Department of Buildings—Inspection
16 A	Health Department—Inspection
16 C	Health Department—Miscellaneous
17 B	Department of Inspection—Boilers
17 D	Department of Inspection—Weights and Measures
17 E	Department of Inspection—Gas
17 F	Department of Inspection—Oil
17 G	Department of Inspection—Automobiles
17 I	Department of Inspection—Miscellaneous
19 A	Department of Public Works—Map Fees
19 C	Department of Public Works—Bureau of Engineering, Permits
19 E	Department of Public Works—Bureau of Engineering, Bridges and Viaducts
19 F	Department of Public Works—Bureau of Engineering, Miscellaneous
19 G	Department of Public Works—Bureau of Streets, Permits
19 H	Department of Public Works—Bureau of Streets, Dumps
19 I	Department of Public Works—Bureau of Streets, Side-walk Certificates

MISCELLANEOUS REVENUE—CORPORATE PURPOSES BY DEPARTMENTS AND MONTHS—YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1902—Continued

Dept. No.	ACCOUNT
19 K	Department of Public Works—Bureau of Streets, Miscellaneous
19 L	Department of Public Works—Bureau of Sewers, Permits
19 N	Department of Public Works—Bureau of Sewers, Miscellaneous
20 A	Department of Electricity—Sale of Power
20 B	Department of Electricity—Permits
20 C	Department of Electricity—Inspection
20 D	Department of Electricity—Miscellaneous
21 A	City Real Estate and Buildings—Rents and Compensation
21 B	City Real Estate and Buildings—Miscellaneous
23 A	Licenses—Saloon (Statement "A")
23 B	Licenses—Other (Statement "A")
24*	Franchise Tax
25	Insurance Tax
30	Markets
31	Miscellaneous
	Gross Miscellaneous Revenue
	Deductions from Miscellaneous Revenue
10 At	Police Court—Fines and Forfeitures
14	Fire Department—Paid to Firemen's Pension Fund
17 B	Department of Inspection—Boilers—Expense
17 G	Department of Inspection—Automobiles—Expense
23 A	Licenses—Saloons—Paid to Pension Fund
23 B	Licenses—Other—Paid to Pension Fund
25	Two Per Cent Insurance Tax—Paid to Firemen's Pension Fund
30	Markets—Expense of Dayton Street Market
	Total Deduction
	Net Miscellaneous Revenue

*Includes unpaid warrant for collection against the Peoples' Gas Light and Coke Co. amounting to \$375,000.

†Paid to Erring Women's Refuge, House of the Good Shepherd, Illinois Humane Society and the Police Pension Fund.

Licenses are also classified. The city of Chicago has a more thorough and exhaustive statement than is found in the Committee's report.

LICENSES ISSUED BY MONTHS AND CLASSES

DESCRIPTION
Amusements
Auctioneers
Bakers
Bar Permits
Billiards and Pool
Bowling Alleys
Brewers and Distillers
Bill Posters
Boats
Brokers

LICENSES ISSUED BY MONTHS AND CLASSES—Continued

DESCRIPTION
Butchers
Cigarettes
Dogs
Dog Pounds
Druggists
Gun Powder
Hacks
Hacks—Livery
Hospitals
Ice Wagons
Junk Dealers
Liquors—Malt—Wholesale
Liquors—Spirit
Liquors—Vinous
Lumber Yards
Milk Dealers
Milk Peddlers
Omnibus
Pawnbrokers
Peddlers—Foot
Peddlers—Oil
Peddlers—Wagon
Peddlers—Wood
Real Estate
Rendering
Roofers
Runners
Saloons
Scales—Public
Scavengers
Second-hand Dealers
Shooting Galleries
Smoked Meats
Soap Factories
Street Cars
Tanneries
Undertakers
Wagons—Junk
Wagons—One-horse
Wagons—Two-horse

The schedule of expenses for the City of Chicago is arranged as follows:

I. CORPORATE PURPOSES—

1. General government, including executive, legislative and administrative departments.
2. Public Safety, including police and fire departments, hospitals, police courts, prisons, reformatories, etc.
3. Public Works, including streets, sewers, and all works except the water-works.
4. Public recreation and art.
5. Miscellaneous.

II. WATER-WORKS—Taken out of the department of "Public Works" by the adoption of the new system.

III. EDUCATION—Made a separate department by law.

IV. LIBRARY—Also on a separate financial foundation.

Classification of Expense Accounts. Separate schedules are given for "ordinary" and "extraordinary," showing expenses under each class. By comparing these schedules with those prepared by the Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting, it will be found that the outline of Chicago's accounts has a quite different distribution under general titles, but that in nearly every case the subtitles may be so arranged as to conform almost exactly to the plan adopted at our last meeting. In Chicago, the electric light plant is retained under the general department of "Public Works" for legal and local reasons—this being comparatively unimportant, and the service being organized by law under this department. For like reason it will be found that the "fire and police telegraph" is retained under the department of electricity, although it is set up as a separate title; this may be reclassified, and, for comparison, taken out and put under the class suggested by the Committee. No division is made in the new Chicago plan, in the general classification between "protection to life, health and property" and "public charities and corrections." Special sub-classification, however, is so thoroughly preserved that the various summaries may be reclassified under the Committee's outlines. On the subject of "appropriation and expenditure," the budgetary arrangements of Chicago are such that appropriations lapse at the expiration of each year, and the exhibit, as set forth in the new system, seems to be needed in Chicago, a wholesome suggestion for other cities to follow.

Conclusion. Taking the new system of accounting adopted by the City of Chicago, as a whole, it is a masterly piece of work, and will serve as a milestone in the movement toward municipal reform. To those interested in better government, it may be said that Chicago has taken an advanced position worthy of emulation by other large municipalities. To those who are interested in municipal accounting as a science, it is encouraging to find that the schedules adopted by the City of Chicago, while conforming to legal and local requirements, are so nearly in harmony with those in use by Ohio under its new code and by the various municipalities that have undertaken new systems of accounting.

Progress of Uniform Municipal Accounting in Ohio

By HARVEY S. CHASE, I.P.A., Boston

Public Accountant and Auditor, and member of the Uniform Municipal Accounting Committee of the National Municipal League

Uniform municipal accounting was brought into being throughout the great State of Ohio by the passage of an act of the Legislature, creating a "Bureau of Inspection and Supervision of Public Offices" under the department of the Auditor of the State.

This act was drawn by Allen Ripley Foote, Esq., editor of *Public Policy*, Chicago. Its main provisions followed those of **Public Account-
ing Bill.** a bill which had been introduced into the Illinois Legislature in 1901, and had been passed by that body, but vetoed by Governor Yates. The Ohio act avoided the provisions which invoked the Illinois veto, and upon its final passage in the Ohio Legislature it was favored almost unanimously, having previously been adopted by the Governor and the Auditor of State as an administration measure, after a few modifications had been made.

A bill for uniform accounting in county offices prepared by the County Auditors' Association of Ohio was combined with this act and added considerably to the strength **County Offices.** in support of the final measure. This enactment took place on May 10, 1902, and very shortly afterward the Auditor of State, Hon. W. D. Guilbert, appointed the three deputies and a clerk provided for by the bill. Each of these appointees had been a county official, and all were well informed in regard to both the law and the practice in county matters.

In Ohio, as well as in many of our southern and western

states, the county is the unit for the collection of taxes. In New England each town or city levies and collects its own taxes, paying over to the state and county whatever amount is lawfully levied for those bodies.

As this procedure is the reverse of that in Ohio, it is readily apparent that the county officials in the west are to a certain extent superior to the town or city officials and therefore that the selection of county auditors to administer the new law was advantageous.

Through the medium of the Ohio State Board of Commerce, which had strongly endorsed and supported the accounting bill in the Legislature, the writer of this paper was invited to act as consulting municipal accountant to the Bureau, and has acted in this capacity since July, 1902.

Meanwhile the condition of municipal affairs in Ohio was revolutionized by decisions of the Supreme Court of the state, **Decision of Supreme Court.** in June, 1902. In these decisions the courts declared that all of the legislation of the past fifty years, so far as it was based upon a classification of the cities of Ohio into various grades, was unconstitutional, and therefore that none of these cities was in possession of a lawful charter.

The execution of the court's decrees was postponed until October, 1902, in order that a special session of the Legislature might be called, and a measure enacted which should replace the various unconstitutional charters. This special session was called, and a municipal code of great importance was passed, after a long and somewhat bitter contest.

The importance of this code from the uniform accounting point of view can scarcely be exaggerated. It has been of immense help in the unification of the accounting systems of the cities, and necessarily has also been the cause of almost endless questions, problems and uncertainties to the Bureau, and to the authorities of the cities.

Its requirements are as mandatory upon the Bureau as the provisions of the uniform accounting act itself, and a mastery of these requirements was one of the earliest matters to which

the members of the Bureau addressed themselves. Upon Organization of Bureau. first meeting the members of the Bureau at Columbus in July, 1902, the writer, as consulting expert, advised the adoption of the National Municipal League's system for uniform municipal reports, and this system was made the basis of all the work thereafter done in relation to the cities of Ohio.

In laying out the system for Ohio, the Bureau was compelled to consider primarily the requirements of the Ohio uniform accounting law for the publication, by the Bureau annually, of comparative statistics of cities, villages, townships, school districts and other taxing bodies, respectively, as state documents.

Having considered the general nature and form for these statistical reports—in which it is intended to set before the people comprehensive tables of comparisons of the financial results in all taxing bodies of the same class, so that any citizen can see for himself what these results are in his own municipality and compare them with the results in other municipalities—it was then considered what requirements should be laid by the Bureau upon the accounting officers of the cities. The largest cities were first considered, and forms for reports from the accounting officers of these cities were drawn up in such a manner as to furnish the information needed by the Bureau in order to make up the comparative statistical tables above mentioned.

Having worked out in detail the forms for these tables and reports which are to be submitted to the Bureau by the Forms of Tables and Reports. various city auditors, there was next to be considered the forms of the books, the arrangement of columns, ledger titles, system of vouchers, cash tickets and whatever else is essential in order that the various city auditors may furnish these reports to the Bureau promptly at the end of the fiscal year; promptness, as well as accuracy, being absolutely essential if any substantial use is to be made of these reports.

It is evident, therefore, that the Bureau has necessarily worked backward through four successive steps before it could

arrive at the final forms of pages, columns and other details of the books of original entry. It is also evident that these forms and schedules which the Bureau has been obliged to consider last are, in reality, the matters that come first in the bookkeeping, and are, therefore, the things that every city auditor desires to see first, and only after these have come to his attention does he desire to follow on through the system in regular order, but in the opposite direction to that necessarily pursued by the Bureau in laying out the system.

Throughout all of this very complicated labor, in which the Bureau had no precedents to guide it,—for this is the first time that an entire state's bookkeeping, including the accounts of large cities, has been overhauled and systematized,—it has been necessary for the Bureau to keep in mind the important fact that the system to be finally adopted should not depart further than is necessary from the systems in practical use in the cities of Ohio to-day; that is, its system should be in the line of evolution, not of revolution.

To this end, a careful study of the systems in use in the leading cities of the state has been made, and is being made, and the Bureau's final system will contain the exceptionally good features of many of these present methods and at the same time will eliminate other features which cannot be reconciled with the requirements of uniformity.

The first important feature of the National Municipal League's system, as applied to Ohio, is the distinction between "revenue and expense" accounts, "A" schedules, which are the statements of the receipts and expenditures of the fiscal years, and the "balance sheet" accounts, "B" schedules, which are statements of the city's assets and liabilities at the end of the fiscal year.

The second important feature of these schedules is the arrangement of the summaries or statements of totals. These follow in order of importance and precede the **Schedules.** detailed statements in every case, i. e., first appear consolidated summary statements (Schedules A-1, B-1, etc.); then subsidiary detailed statements of the items in the first schedule; then more detailed statements of

the items in the secondary schedules, and so on down to the least important details of the accounts.

The third important feature is the emphatic distinction between "ordinary revenue and expense" and "extraordinary revenue and expense." The former relates to the income of the city from ordinary sources, excluding sales of bonds and other capital accounts, and to the expenditures of the city for the ordinary running expenses, i. e., for operation and maintenance. The latter—extraordinary—relates only to the income from extraordinary sources, like borrowed money, etc., and to expenditures for permanent construction or other capital outlay.

The fourth important feature, and the one which is practically the creation of the National Municipal League, is the arrangement of the totals and afterward the details of the departments' accounts, not in alphabetical order, as has been the customary method heretofore in city accounts, which renders all comparisons forever misleading and difficult, but in an order based upon the general purpose or function of each department or division of the municipal government.

Schedule A-I gives the consolidated summary of the total cash receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year, not including duplicated items, which are given elsewhere.

Purposes of the Schedules. Schedule A-II divides the total revenues and expenditures into distinct categories, "ordinary," "extraordinary" and "trust funds," which together make up the actual transactions of the city, omitting duplications. The duplications, viz., transfers, refunds, rebates, re-loans, temporary tax loans repaid, etc., are set up below in totals, with the title "temporary accounts." The grand totals of Schedule A-II, which include these duplications, cover all the financial transactions of every kind during the year which have passed in one way or another through the books of the city auditor.

Schedule A-III takes up a more detailed study of the "ordinary" and "extraordinary" items, arranged in groups, according to general purposes and functions, and considers the questions pertaining to "funds."

Schedule A-iv expands the items of the previous schedule in still more detailed figures, and gets down to the receipts, appropriations and expenditures by departments and divisions, still grouped according to the League's system as adapted to the Ohio Code.

Schedules A-v and vi are for trust funds and temporary accounts.

Schedule A-vii takes up the budgetary questions, balances forward, appropriations, additions, expenditures and balances remaining, transfers to and from, etc., with the departments still grouped as before; and, finally,

Schedule A-viii consists of the ultimate details of each department's accounts, so far as the auditor's reports will deal with them, taken up in order separately and with sufficient space given to each so that all the important divisions of the expenditures, viz., salaries, expenses, rents, lighting, printing, etc., can be completely set forth.

It will be seen that the schedules progress consistently and steadily from the gross statements to the details, each schedule being an amplification of the preceding one and in complete harmony with it, and all arranged upon a definite, consistent and uniform system applicable to any and all municipal accounts.

The second grand division of the schedules relates to the assets and liabilities of the city, labeled "B," and these also are logical and clear.

B-i gives the assets and liabilities in gross figures, arranged to show, first, the total current assets (cash, taxes not yet collected, etc.), as against the total current liabilities (vouchers not paid, etc.), and, secondly, the contingent or doubtful assets and liabilities; thirdly, the trust funds and special deposit accounts for which the city acts as agent or trustee; and, finally, the actual sinking funds on the asset side contrasted with total bonded debt on the liability side.

The permanent, but not available, assets of real estate, buildings, equipment, etc., are also stated in totals, and are offset by a balance account or surplus on the credit side; this "surplus" is detailed in Schedule B-vii.

Thus a concise and accurate statement of the financial condition of the city at the end of the year is given at a glance.

The succeeding "B" schedules are amplifications of the items in this first schedule up to and including B-vii, and thereafter may be carried out by succeeding schedules into any details which are considered important by the officials in any particular city.

If this description of the Ohio schedules is compared with explanations of the standard schedules of the National Mu-

**National Municipal League
Schedules
Compared.**

nicipal League, it will be found that up to this point the two sets of schedules are almost exactly alike. In fact, the Ohio schedules are identical with the standard schedules so far as

A-I and A-II are concerned. A-III is in the same form as the standard, but owing to the requirements of the Ohio Code the general titles are somewhat differently arranged. For instance, in A-III the title "General Government" is followed by the title "Protection of Life, Health and Property," as in our standard form; but there then appears the title "Public Service," including as sub-headings "Public Charity and Correction," "Public Ways," "Public Industries," "Public Parks," "Public Buildings," etc. This departure from the standard form is not a serious one; and, in fact, the League may very properly congratulate itself that the standard system has proved itself so sufficiently elastic as to cover practically all the requirements of the Ohio Code.

It is somewhat remarkable that this should have been the case. That it is so has been the cause of much satisfaction to the author of this paper, and doubtless will be gratifying to his colleagues of the Uniform Accounting Committee and the members of the League.

When the first draft of the Ohio schedules was completed, after careful study of the provisions of the municipal code it was found possible so to arrange the manifold functions of the Board of Public Service, which were specified in somewhat irregular order in the code, that they could be made to fall almost exactly under the titles of the standard forms, provided only that the

general title "Public Service" was used as a grand division to include them all.

If a comparison be now made between these Ohio schedules and the latest form of the standard schedules, as exemplified in the city auditor's report of the City of Cambridge, Mass., which has just been published, there will be noted in addition to the divergencies already mentioned on account of "Public Service" another noticeable difference, namely, that "Public Art and Recreation" has disappeared as a title from the Ohio schedules. This is true for the reason that "Public Parks," "Public Baths" and other functions which make up the subtitles of "Public Recreation" in the standard form are included by the Ohio Code among the duties of the Board of Public Service and must necessarily be included under that general title in the Ohio forms.

When Schedule A-iv is reached, a number of differences will also be noted in the details, but none of these will seriously interfere with proper comparisons of the expenditures and receipts of the various departments under the Ohio titles with those of cities in other states, such as Baltimore, Chicago, Boston and other municipalities where the standard form of our schedules have been used for one or more reports.

Turning to the "B" schedules for Ohio, we find them identical with the standard forms adopted by the League as shown in the Cambridge report.

The favorable reception which has been given to the Bureau's schedules by the officials throughout Ohio has been very grati-

**Reception of
the Schedules by
Ohio Officials.** fying and encouraging to all of us who have struggled with the intricate problems involved.

The reports of the five largest cities of Ohio—Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Toledo and Dayton,—for the fiscal year 1902 are now nearly completed upon the new schedules, and they will all be in the printer's hands very shortly.

The auditors and other financial officers in each of these cities have taken absorbing interest in the work of our deputies and examiners, and have assisted us in the most friendly manner. The Bureau has endeavored to make it clear that

it has no intention of antagonizing the present systems or the present officials, but that its aim is to assist the officials and to render their work less difficult by improving the accounting methods in the interest of all concerned. Men of all parties and of no party can unite, and have united, in praising the Bureau's plans and in assisting in the work with interest and hopefulness, which augurs well for the carrying out of the requirements of the uniform accounting law and for the ultimate realization of the benefits to the community which have been anticipated by the framers and supporters of that measure.

It must be recognized and remembered that the proposition before the Bureau in Ohio is a vast one. It comprises not only the reorganization of the accounting and reporting in the cities, but likewise also those of villages, townships, counties, school districts, and, in fact, of every taxing body in the state. This is a tremendous proposition, and one that will necessarily take a long time to work out thoroughly and practically. We must not ask or expect too much immediately, therefore, for many of the problems presented by the uniform law and by the code can only be finally solved through decisions of the courts. Amendments of these laws must also be reckoned with hereafter, in all probability, so that it will be necessary that all of those who have high hopes of the results to be attained by these new departures in state regulation of municipal accounting must be prepared to see the movement progress somewhat slowly for the present, and must be contented if only it advances steadily and fearlessly in the right direction.

What Has Been Done Toward Uniform Accounts for Street Railway, Electric and Gas Lighting, and Water-Works Systems

By M. N. BAKER

Associate Editor, "Engineering News," New York City

Uniform accounting systems have been adopted by national organizations devoted to the gas-lighting, electric-lighting, and street-railway interests of the country. A uniform summary of statistics for the reports of water-works is in use by some municipal water departments. The latter covers physical as well as financial statistics, but does no more in the way of accounting than to suggest a uniform system. The outline for water-works statistics was adopted by the New England Water-Works Association, in June, 1885, thus making that organization a pioneer in the movement for uniform municipal statistics. The schedule has recently been endorsed by the American Water-Works Association, the Central States Water-Works Association, and the American Society of Municipal Improvements. Copies of it may be obtained from Mr. Charles W. Sherman, editor "Journal New England Water-Works Association," 1 Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass. It may be added that the statistics made up in accordance with the schedule are tabulated and published yearly in the "Journal."

In August, 1899, as a result of coöperation between the Street Railway Accountants' Association of America, the Association of American Railway Accounting Officers, and the National Convention of (State) Railroad Commissioners, a detailed accounting system for street railways was adopted by the latter body, after having been previously approved by the other two organizations. The schedule is printed in full in the report of the Connecticut Railroad Commission for 1899, occupying seventy-seven pages of

the same. It was adopted for use by street-railway companies in making up their reports to the Connecticut Railroad Commission after June 30, 1900. The Commission may be addressed at Hartford, Conn.

In May, 1901, the National Electric Light Association adopted a committee report which included a uniform system of accounting for electric lighting plants, the schedules for which are included in the Proceedings of the Convention for that year. Mr. James Blake Cahoon, 35 Nassau street, New York city, is secretary of the National Electric Light Association.

In October, 1902, the American Gas Light Association adopted the report of its committee on accounting, which included a detailed system of accounts. Mr. Alexander Humphreys, president of Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J., is chairman of the last-named committee.

Banquet Speeches

The banquet tendered by the Detroit Committee of Arrangements to the delegates to the National Municipal League was held in Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Michigan, Friday evening, April 24, 1903, with President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, acting as toastmaster.

MR. JOHN DAVIS: Ladies and Gentlemen.—As the smoke commences to rise, it is time for me to rise. I am reminded by the number who participate in this delightful part of the exercises of a sign that I saw in Chicago, "Better smoke here than hereafter." I hand it down to those who do not participate in this part of the program. [Applause.]

I wish to offer a word of explanation in regard to the meetings of the National Municipal League. The number present here to-night is no indication of the quality or amount of the work done by the National Municipal

League. The business men here would be astonished at the amount of material that is ground out by the League. The Work of the League.

Papers weighty and important have been offered here in great numbers, and have been read; other have passed through the mails to be compiled into a volume which will soon appear, and which goes out over this country to influence legislation touching the welfare of our cities.

I have noticed, though, as the meetings have gone along, that the numbers increase from meeting to meeting, until to-night, for some reason, we seem to have more than at any other meeting. You see the influence of the League is growing. [Applause.]

It needs no introduction of mine to present to you the toastmaster of the evening, and so I will simply sit down and let the toastmaster arise. [Applause.]

PRESIDENT JAMES B. ANGELL: One of the speakers to-day spoke of the members of the League as dreamers. That epithet is oftentimes applied to those who seek great reforms; and I suppose my friend, Mr. Davis, has invited us in here to-night to convince the hearing world that we are not beings flying in the air above the earth dealing with unintelligible problems, but that we eat and drink and enjoy ourselves very much like other folks. [Applause.] When we speak to them, we speak to them as other fellow-beings, living on the same planet. Perhaps you ladies and gentlemen who are sitting and viewing this long row at this head table are asking in your hearts for sympathy, and inquiring if you have to listen to all of these men talk. I wish you would bear in mind a remark which I caught from the late Earl of Derby, which I am not sure but would apply to every one of these gentlemen here, who are sitting in torture trying to digest a dinner which they have been eating while brooding

on a speech. The remark which the late Earl of Derby made is filled with great truth,—that he always hated to be called on to speak at a dinner, because he had always laid awake all the night before thinking what he should say, and that he usually laid awake all the night afterwards thinking what he had forgotten to say. [Applause.] So, please have sympathy for us, as well as for yourselves.

I must say that I am quite touched, as I look around this table, to see what a happy, providential dispensation it is that after the visit to Ann Arbor, the Michigan University colors seem to cover the table here to-night. I suppose that is a happy accident. [Applause.] Where blessings are so few we will give thanks for accidents that come our way. [Applause.]

I have been wondering why on earth Mr. Davis should send away out to Ann Arbor to ask me to fulfil this duty here to-night when you have so many

Municipal in your own city who might do it more gracefully than I.
Experiences. I wonder whether he has not heard that I once came
 within ten votes of being a mayor of a city, and that I am

here a specimen of municipal reform which was almost achieved. Years ago I was doing newspaper work—Dr. Wilder will extend his sympathy to me—on a daily paper, and had occasion to express my views on municipal matters. In the city in which I was then living we had a mayor, a fine fellow, a good friend of mine, but he had been many years in office, and a good many people thought there was a sort of machine which had been generated by this long occupancy of office, and that the city was being carried into extravagant ways, and they insisted upon voting for me upon one occasion, against this gentleman. He was elected, and I was not, but I came as near it as that; and, when I stated in the morning paper how close had been my escape, the whole city was much interested. That was my only experience directly in municipal politics.

In the days of my early recollection, the municipal governments in New England, at least when I was living there, were as different from the modern

Early municipal governments as it is possible to imagine. In
New England those days men of great weight were invariably elected as
Municipal mayors, and the aldermen were the most substantial citizens of the town, men of large business interests, large
Government. capacity,—men who, without salary or any political aspirations in particular, consented to hold these offices for the simple conduct of municipal affairs with the same prudence and caution with which they conducted their private affairs. And I think it is safe to say that such a thing as corruption and malfeasance in office or undue extravagance was practically unknown in the cities of New England in those years.

Then came the second stage, when business prosperity seemed to have absorbed the attention of men so that those who were adapted, for the most part, were unwilling to take office, and the voters were less interested than they had been in municipal affairs. So began the downward course which has come to almost all cities in the country when pursuing municipal office was a business by itself, when corruption set in and every kind of ex-

travagance followed. We all know what a sad era that has been in our country.

And then came this other era, upon which we have now entered, when the cities have begun to awaken to the voice of reforming the past forms of municipal government, when men with grand public spirit

The Present Situation. and enterprise, regardless of the claims for their own affairs upon them, like the gentlemen who form this

National Municipal League, are seeking to solve these municipal problems, which concern us far more than even our state and national affairs. We have come to that stage and are trying to make progress in it.

It seems, in looking back over this last period, that the larger the city the greater the proportion of iniquity.

I remember some years ago, when there was upon the Supreme bench in Rhode Island, where I was then living, a very wise, simple, candid country judge, who lived in a small village of three or four hundred inhabitants,—the village of Wexford, on Narraganset Bay,—and there came on to Rhode Island one of the most acute and brilliant lawyers of New York to try a case. It came on for trial before this judge, and this acute New York lawyer was immensely impressed with the wisdom and acumen of this country judge; and when the case was over he said to him one day, "Judge Fremont, why in the world do you sit down and stay in this little obscure village of Wexford, with your learning and talent and legal acumen? You ought to come to New York, where your powers would be appreciated, and where you would shine as one of the great lawyers or judges of that city." "Well," said the judge, in his homely way, "my dear friend, don't say anything about that, don't say anything about that; if you will only hang all the rascally fellows there are in New York it wouldn't be so much bigger than Wexford."

[Applause.]

I have had occasion to pass some time in Oriental cities. It may be encouraging to us of the west that there are some things worse than very bad western cities. I lived in the City of Pekin for a time,

Oriental Conditions. and if one of you could go there and witness the unspeakable sights and smells,—I might say the nastiness of the place,—a city of 400,000 inhabitants, with no street upon which a carriage can be driven, or hardly a light upon the streets at night, with every possible corruption in the courts, and among the magistrates, you might at least take some courage and think there were some things worse than your own cities.

I remember, as a specimen of the way in which these officials prey upon each other, an illustration which was rather striking. A duty is levied at the city wall of Pekin upon everything that comes into it. There came while I was there one of their most successful generals from the west, bringing a large part of his plunder with him. When he reached the city gate the officials of the city insisted upon wringing from him about a hundred thousand dollars before they would let him into the city at all. As he had stolen it

from somebody else, it was not of much consequence. That was the way in which the city affairs were administered.

It also fell to my lot, as some of you know, to spend some time at Constantinople, which is only less bad than Pekin. The streets are slightly better, but the government quite as bad in every particular, with courts teeming with corruption among the magistrates, with, what may be known to some of you, a city of 900,000 inhabitants extending for miles on both sides of the Bosphorus, and with no local mails whatever. You can't mail a letter there in any part of the city; you must send your own messenger with it. And that in 1903. The only reason that I could see why that state of things existed was that one day the Sultan tried the experiment of a local mail, and he received so many threatening letters, messages and postal cards that he stopped the whole concern. [Applause.]

I have heard a good deal from the members of your League concerning American cities, and the suggested remedies. I want to tell of one case of remarkable enterprise in a western American city, the like of which I have never heard reported in any of these papers, and which might perhaps encourage you at least, as to the enterprising spirit with which the municipal affairs of some of our cities are conducted.

I was staying in this city some months ago for a little while, and I inquired what the population was; and they hesitated somewhat about answering. I said, "Isn't the city prosperous and growing?" "Oh, yes.

How the Census is Taken. Oh, yes, very rapidly; but, unhappily, the Census which is taken in the United States has just taken in 1900 apparently shows

that the city has fallen off about 5,000 inhabitants since the municipal Census which was taken in 1895, but that is all wrong." "Well," I said, "how do you explain that?" "Why, we can explain that without denying that the city is very prosperous. It is this way. When the city had the Census taken in 1885, of course they wanted to make a good showing, and they employed a couple of very enterprising fellows to take the Census. So they went about it to make a prosperous city; and when they entered into a house where there was a young married couple, we'll say, twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old, they would take down their names, ask how many children there were. Well, perhaps two. 'Two, and you are only twenty-eight years old. You will have five before you get through.' And they put down five." [Applause.] That would satisfy Mr. Roosevelt himself.

Well, it is not for the toastmaster to occupy the time in making speeches; but I desire to say, in view of the optimistic phases which have been expressed in the meetings of this League to-day in Ann Arbor as to the future of municipal affairs, there is a great deal, no doubt, that is discouraging and trying; but certain things are certainly full of encouragement, and one is the existence of this League with its branches all over the country, and another is the great interest which young men are taking in municipal as well as other political affairs all over the country.

I will say, and I don't think I overstate the case when I say it, that there is

nothing which is interesting the college students all over the country more than the conduct of public affairs, national, state and **Faith in the American People.** municipal. This is to me one of the most hopeful features, because with them, of course, lies very largely the future administration of all our public affairs; and when I see such spectacles as are manifest here, when I see young men, who might sit back in self-indulgence, men of wealth, young men of position, throw themselves into the breach, devoting themselves, body and soul, to this great work of trying to make our cities better, it seems to me that no man can see this and fail to have the brightest conceptions as to the result of this contest of this League, which is carrying on the work, the agitation and the labor. Finally victory will perch upon our banners if the discussion and agitation is only persisted in. We all of us, I believe, have that faith in the American people which leaves no room to doubt that if the facts can only be hammered into them, if they can be made to see what we see, we can in the long run trust them to do what is right and just in this great fight. [Applause.]

It is not going to be a short one; it is not going to be an easy one; but if we have young men like our friends Mr. Garfield and Mr. Woodruff, and these other gentlemen whose words have so inspired us to-day, and who are young enough to do a great deal more fighting than some of us old fellows can, I, for one, have no doubt as to what the result is going to be. I am glad we shall have an opportunity of hearing some of these men in whose hands the future of our cities so largely lies. I am glad to see so many citizens of Detroit here to-night, for, with all its merits, I will assume there is room even in the City of Detroit to consider some principles that have been set before us to-day, and in every city in this land and in every city in every civilized land.

I am glad to be able to present to you to-night some of the gentlemen who have been identified with this work, and whom you will have the pleasure of listening to. First of all, may I call upon the gentleman who is acting as president of this convention, and who brings from Philadelphia, of all places in the world, some words of good cheer, Mr. Charles Richardson, the vice-president of the National Municipal League, who is asked to speak upon this subject.

MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen.—President Angell has spoken of one accident here to-night—the college colors. I am another accident. The League has among its officers some very fine speakers. You will hear some of them to-night. It has others who do not know how to speak, who never learned to talk! I am one of those, and it is only because of the lamented absence of our president and the mistaken kindness of our host that I am put forward to say a few words on behalf of the National Municipal League.

Detroit's Excellencies. We have been very handsomely entertained here; we have enjoyed our visit exceedingly; we are very grateful for the courtesy that has been shown to us; we have found much to admire in the City of Detroit; we have admired its physical beauty, we have ad-

mired the political independence of its citizens, and I was going to say, of its clocks, but perhaps I had better not allude to its various standards of time.

It seems to us that in this city the bad elements which pervade every municipality have been gotten under, and that the best people of the city are on top. I remember a little story that may possibly have a moral for the good citizens of Detroit. Two men were fighting desperately, one on top and the other was underneath and being terribly hammered. A clergyman came along and remonstrated with the man on top. He said, "Don't beat a man when he is down; let him up." "Oh, your Reverence, if you only knew what an awful time I had to get him down you would never ask me to let him up." Perhaps there is a little moral in that for the people of Detroit. If you have gotten the bad elements down, don't let them up. Some of our cities have never been able to get them down. In some cities, although the reformers are a little like the Irishman's pig, that ran around so lively that the neighbors thought there was a dozen of him, they find it very difficult to make much impression or accomplish anything like what they want to do.

When I was a little boy,—you know nearly all great men were once little boys on a farm; that is about the only claim I have to being a great man—once I was a little boy on a farm, and I was driving the horses while the farmer held the handles of the plow, and it got toward noon. I was tired, and so I argued with the farmer,—even in those days I was something of an altruist—and I argued that it was time that the horses had a rest and a dinner. After a while he seemed to yield to my appeals. He said, "Well, we'll have one more round, and then." Well, we had one more round and when we got through with that I began to unharness the horses. He said, "What are you doing?" "Why," I said, "you said we would get through with this round and then we would go home." He replied, "I didn't say anything of the kind. I said, 'one more round, and then,'—I meant another." And that has been our experience in some of the other cities. We have one round and then we have another. We don't get to the final round.

The National Municipal League was formed by men of the highest ideals, the purest motives, the truest civic patriotism. They were men who felt that

**The National
Municipal
League.** it was their duty and the duty of all of us to do what is possible toward making the world so that the Divine Will shall be done "On earth as it is in heaven." Sometimes we can do a great deal, sometimes only a little; but we can always be striving to do something. It was with that idea that the League was formed.

We commenced by first securing the coöperation of societies that were working for civic improvement in different parts of the country, and then getting them to meet together in conferences for a comparison of views and experiences. We wanted to be sure we were right, and to ascertain and compare the conditions in the different cities thoroughly before we attempted to act. We found that, to a certain extent, those conditions were similar; we found in all modern cities there were great powers, and great resources

and assets; that those powers and those resources could be used if they came into the control of bad men for the accumulation of great fortunes; and we found that in every city there was a very large element of men who were eager to get control of those powers and those resources or assets for purely selfish purposes, and were not in the least particular as to the methods which they used to obtain that control.

We found, on the other hand, that the people generally did not realize those conditions, that they were apathetic in fact, and that their sense of civic intelligence, civic duties and civic righteousness was The League's Activities. was almost entirely undeveloped. When we had thoroughly covered the ground, we commenced our constructive work. We appointed a committee, which for two or three years worked over the problem of a model charter. With a great deal of care and a great deal of deliberation that work was completed. Some of you may be familiar with it. It has been very extensively circulated, and has already had a great influence in the cities of this country.

We then took up the subject of municipal accounting, and you have heard of our progress with that in our meetings in Detroit.

We then took up the subject of civic education in the educational institutions of the country, first in the higher institutions. In that we have done a great deal of work. We have now continued our committee, for the purpose of taking up the subject of municipal instruction in the secondary schools. The great majority of American pupils do not reach the universities, and it is of the greatest importance that they should be instructed in the real municipal conditions of the country.

We are also taking up the subject of nominations and primaries, and have a large and able committee at work at that. They will probably be able to report at the next annual meeting. It is in such lines as these, and in securing the coöperation of societies for municipal improvement all over the country, that the National Municipal League has its field; and I think the work that it has done, and the work that it has in hand and that it is possible to accomplish in the future, justifies its appeal to every intelligent citizen of the United States for his support and influence.

I thank you very much, Mr. Toastmaster, for the opportunity of saying these few words. [Applause.]

THE TOASTMASTER: As one gentleman has to leave upon a train soon, we will vary the order slightly as it stands upon the program. Sydney Smith somewhere speaks of a man whom he describes as a "steam engine in breeches." As I have heard the members of this League tell of what the secretary has been doing for the past few years, and as I heard him to-day speak about ten minutes in such a way as to make every young man who heard him want to get up and at once enlist in the war for the rest of his life in favor of municipal reform, this description of Sydney Smith's, which I know is not very dignified, came very vividly to my mind. We all know that whatever the League has done has been largely due to its secretary, the Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, who will now speak to you. [Applause.]

MR. WOODRUFF: Mr. Toastmaster and Friends of Detroit.—I know that there are some within the sound of my voice who will appreciate my feelings of thankfulness for the very "touching" reception, which at least some members of this National Municipal League received during their visit to this city. The question of time, which bothered some of us so considerably when we first came here, was solved completely for me last night, or rather, early this morning, when all possibility of telling any kind of time, either central or local, was taken from me; and the particular reason for the change in the order of the toasts is due to the fact that the treasurer and myself are going to make some effort to recover our lost time and other losses. Notwithstanding the warmth of our welcome, at least the treasurer and myself, owing to these losses, will go away poorer in this world's goods, but very much richer in an appreciation of the kindness of the Detroit people and of their sincere interest in this subject which we have at heart.

I have often wondered why it was that those in charge of the banquets given at the conclusion of the National Municipal League meetings have insisted that there be some humor injected into the speeches. I never, until a few days ago, made out the connection between humor and municipal reform, but, as the injunction has been laid upon us with invariable regularity in every city which we have had the honor and privilege of visiting, there must be some connection, and I think Mr. Carlyle has suggested the connection when he said, "No man who has once laughed heartily can be altogether and wholly irreclaimably bad."

The specific title that has been assigned to me is "The Multiplication of Agencies,"—a most congenial one, indeed. Within ten years, there has been

The Multiplication of Agencies. a tenfold increase in the number of reform bodies. In the first volume of the proceedings of the good-government conferences, forty-three such bodies were reported, including two or three women's health protective associations.

Now there are over four hundred reform bodies, not including the latter class, which I believe has increased in the same proportion.

These municipal leagues, civic federations, citizens' associations, while pursuing different methods and occupying different parts of the field, are, nevertheless, contributing directly to the solution of the problems confronting the municipal citizen. If I were asked to mention the one thing which above another characterized the work, I should unhesitatingly reply, "their persistency." Of course, there is no lack of sporadic bodies, springing up quickly for a temporary emergency and as quickly dropping out; but those accomplishing positive results are keeping at their work year in and year out, with a courage and determination that augurs well for the ultimate success of their efforts. The work of the Municipal Voters' League in Chicago, illustrates exactly what I mean. It has been at the work of reforming Chicago's councils since 1896. Despite setbacks and disappointments, it has kept at its allotted task, until Chicago can now boast of an honest board of aldermen. To be sure, it has not eliminated every dishonest member, but it has secured the election of a substantial and sufficient majority of honest men. The work of

the Citizens' Union in New York, which conducted the first and second Low campaigns, is an illustration to the same effect.

Some of these bodies are political bodies, making their own nominations and conducting their own campaigns like the Citizens' Union just mentioned

Municipal Bodies. and the Municipal League of Philadelphia, both of which are recognized under the laws of their respective states as political parties. Other bodies, like the Chicago

Voters' League, are "balance of power" parties. They make no nominations of their own, but endorse the nominations of the other parties. The Chicago League uses its influence to defeat obnoxious candidates first at the primaries, and, if unsuccessful there, then at the polls. Other associations take no part in purely political matters, but confine their energies to securing the enforcement of existing laws and the enactment of new and more modern ones. Still others deal solely with the question of improvement, and others with certain branches like the schools. The Public Education Association, of Boston, an example of this type, is also a type of the political bodies, because it presents a school ticket at every municipal election.

It is not alone among reform bodies that the question of municipal government and its development is receiving attention. The business organizations of the land are taking it up with vigor, and giving to it a larger and larger share of attention. Indeed, some of the most successful municipal work in this country has been accomplished by them. The New York Chamber of Commerce has time and again taken the initiative in important municipal undertakings. It organized the Committee of Seventy in 1894, and a few years ago appointed the Committee of Fifteen, which, under the efficient leadership of William H. Baldwin, Jr., did much signally good work in exposing the corrupt relations existing between the New York police and the vicious classes.

The New York Merchants' Association has set an example of the highest type of effective and public-spirited endeavor. Thanks to its leadership the iniquitous Ramapo job was first halted, then finally and effectively defeated. Now it is coöperating with the city **Business Men.** in securing a well-known and competent engineer to take charge of the water-works construction, contributing one-half of his salary of \$20,000 per annum. It has also inaugurated a movement to secure a complete and adequate examination and rearrangement of the accounts and financial undertakings of Greater New York and its subdivisions.

In its way, the work of the San Francisco Merchants' Association has proven to be equally noteworthy. To its untiring energy, under the leadership of its late secretary, J. Richard Freud, San Francisco owes its new charter and its establishment, and likewise the merit system which is working so satisfactorily.

I cannot mention in detail the work of such bodies as the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, and its successful management of the "group sys-

tem" of city, county and federal buildings; and of the Chicago Merchants' Association, and its work in regard to the examination and rearrangement of the city's accounts, and of a long list of other achievements to be credited to boards of trade, commercial clubs and chambers of commerce. I have mentioned a few instances only as illustrative of what has been and is being done, and what can be accomplished by business bodies.

The problem has been likewise attacked from other quarters, and with equal effectiveness. Religious bodies like the Christian Endeavor Societies,

Religious Activity. the Young Men's Christian Association, have taken up the question, especially from the point of view of the duty of the citizens. They reach and hold a great portion of the body politic, and the fact that they are giving it the advantage of their consideration, endorsement and encouragement, means much for the future as well as considerable for the present. The church, too, is no longer silent or indifferent to the subject, but is coming to regard it as a proper and legitimate object of endeavor. The problem is essentially a moral one, and the realization of this fact by the moral forces in the community is a favorable and auspicious sign.

Mention must also be made of the national agencies making for municipal advance; the National Municipal League, the American Society for Municipal Improvements, the League of American Municipalities, the American Park and Outdoor Art Association and the American League for Civic Improvement.

The National Municipal League is the oldest of these bodies, having been organized early in 1894 as a result of the Philadelphia Conference already mentioned. It represents the interest of citizens in the solution of the municipal problem. It is at once a reviewing body, a clearing-house for ideas and experiences, a propagandizing influence and a maker of programs. As a reviewing body, it has presented a series of studies of municipal conditions that has attracted the attention and commanded the praise of students everywhere. Its annual meetings and its executive organizations have served as a clearing-house for those interested in the work. It has carried on a persistent propaganda for higher municipal standards mainly through the aid of the press. It is, however, as a maker and advocate of programs that it has accomplished the most substantial results.

The "Municipal Program," which has been published by the Macmillans, represents two years' steady work of a committee of seven specially trained men. It consists of certain proposed constitutional amendments and a municipal corporations act, and the papers descriptive of them and the underlying principles. In short, it is a proposed charter designed for American cities and conditions, and its value has been shown by the fact that it had been used by every charter commission and constitutional convention held since its promulgation. Through the Committee on Instruction in Municipal Government in American Educational Institutions, it is furnishing instructors with the necessary syllabi and references for the inauguration and conduct of courses in municipal government. Its Committee on Uniform

Municipal Accounting and Statistics has prepared a series of schedules for the accounts of cities, which have been already adopted in Ohio, Baltimore, Boston, Brookline, Chicago, Providence, and are under consideration in a number of other cities.

These are practical, concrete contributions to the solution of the problem, and they have been accordingly appreciated. These committees are still at work, and a new one on Nomination Reform has been added and has begun work in the same direction of practical helpfulness and suggestiveness.

The American Society of Municipal Improvements represents the interest of the technical municipal administrator. It is composed of cities who send their engineers to its meetings. It is designed to improve the ways and means of doing municipal work, such as the construction of bridges, sewers and streets. It, too, is a practical body and is doing a much needed work; although necessarily its proceedings will attract less attention than its sister bodies because it confines itself so closely to scientific and technical details, which are none the less important and necessary.

The American Park and Outdoor Art Association occupies itself with a different phase of the problem. It is interested in creating a more beautiful city. It aims to increase the number and means of opportunities for healthful outdoor recreation and comfort. It concerns itself with parks, their care and management and improvement; with the abatement of offensive public advertisements, with the multiplication and improvement of artistic school-houses, playgrounds, public squares and baths; with the beautification of our streets and public places, and the artistic development of our cities, like the proposed improvement of Washington. It is having a healthful and a helpful influence and is developing a sound public sentiment that is making for a more beautiful public life.

The League of American Municipalities, like the American Society of Municipal Improvements, is composed of cities, but it appeals to those more particularly concerned with questions of policy, and the mayor and councilmen. It is composed exclusively of public officials, who meet once a year for the study and discussion of municipal problems. It represents an increasingly "well-directed effort to make municipal officials intelligent as regards the work which they are elected to do and to arouse a sense of civic responsibility." In this it is succeeding, and the movement is one of the most significant. If any one had proposed, eight or ten years ago, to form an association composed of such officials and to discuss such questions he would have been regarded as a dreamer. Then came the proposition, and the early meetings showed that the officials did not fully appreciate their opportunity; but the more serious-minded among them, men like Mayor MacVicar, of Des Moines, first president and later secretary, persisted until they have at last established the body on a firm basis of usefulness.

The American League for Civic Improvement is the youngest of the national bodies. It represents an effort to reach the masses with the smaller individual improvements. In the words of its former president, Charles

Zueblin, of Chicago, it is interested in the back yard and small street and the school in the town or village as well as the city. If it can interest the community in larger undertakings through the medium of the smaller, it will not have existed in vain, and will have justified its establishment.

This very multiplicity of organizations, while perhaps from some points of view to be regretted, nevertheless, from others, is to be taken as a favorable sign of the times. If in nothing else, it indicates that **Federation.** the people are stirred up and are being stirred up, and this is much. The talk of a federation of interests points the same way. The "trust" period has been reached, and further development must be in the direction of an harmonious agreement as to the spheres of activity, so that there will be an economy of effort and distribution and an elimination of superfluous activities and overlapping.

In this view of the situation, I have deliberately dwelt upon the favorable signs and evidences; primarily because I think they preponderate over the unfavorable ones, and secondly, because I think progress lies in the direction of their cultivation and emphasis. The outlook is bright and full of encouragement. There is a progressive development toward good. The difficulties are not all eliminated nor the obstacles all surmounted, but the forces making for righteousness and improvement are being strengthened from day to day, and in time must overcome those that make and sustain corruption and inefficiency.

THE TOASTMASTER: I guess I made no mistake in applying Sydney Smith's appellation. And now I have pleasure in introducing as the next speaker, the new chairman of the League's Executive Committee, Mr. Horace E. Deming, of New York City.

MR. DEMING: Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen.—The men of Detroit cannot clean its municipal politics without the assistance of the women of Detroit. That you men realize this, and that the women of Detroit also realize it, are evidenced by the presence of so many of them here this evening. It is one of the many good reasons for the political optimism of the workers in the National Municipal League, that in every city the League has visited it has been cordially welcomed by the ladies; and that their ready sympathy and intelligent coöperation have aided and strengthened, and, in not a few instances, inspired the movement for the betterment of municipal conditions which is appearing in so many forms and with such encouraging frequency in all parts of the United States.

But every worker for political improvement who has some familiarity with political history and the achievements of English-speaking folk is rightly an optimist, especially if he also have the true scientific attitude of mind—the attitude that, on the one hand, preserves him from the deadening effects of traditionalism, and, on the other, enables him to recognize the new conditions of his own time and to adapt himself intelligently to them.

If we accept the scriptural threescore years and ten as the natural term of life for a hale and hearty man, less than twenty such lives carry us back to the time when our forbears landed on the shores of England. They

were rude barbarians, but they brought with them the old Teutonic devotion to personal freedom and firm belief in local independence.

Personal Freedom and Local Independence. They brought with them, also, the crude beginnings destined to grow later into an enlarged and powerful political union through the development and application of the representative principle in the practical conduct of government. And what a roll of political achievements since in Freedom's cause during the brief span of these twenty lives! Magna Charta — Parliament — the settlement of America — the struggle in England and America with royal prerogative which lay at the foundation of the war of the American Revolution. The result of that struggle in England was the destruction of royal prerogative, and led to a thorough-going reform in Parliament, the abolition of the rotten boroughs, a wide extension of the suffrage, and so large a measure of local self-government in English cities that they are admirable examples of administrative efficiency and honesty. The result in this country was American Independence, and led to the founding of the United States and the adoption of a Constitution whose grand opening declaration, with your permission, I will read:

"We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution."

For the first time since man appeared upon earth, "*we, the people,*" asserted our sovereignty. Not many years later came our great Civil War, the people's war. It rewrote, in letters of blood and fire, the fundamental political truth that the people mean to be the government, and settled for all time that the United States is not a league or compact or confederacy, but a nation. And all these things, and more, have been accomplished in England and America within a span of time so brief that it scarcely covers the duration of twenty human lives. Is it any wonder that one at all familiar with the political history and achievements of the English-speaking folk is a political optimist?

And what shall we say of our political progress since the Civil War? A stormy reconstruction period followed the war. Then the people began a determined struggle to do away with the abuse of arbitrary power through the centralizing tendencies in government which the storm and stress of war and reconstruction had done so much to foster. I may not go into detail of results achieved, but let me speak briefly of my own state, New York, and of some of the steps forward there politically in the last twenty-five years.

In 1894, we made the fundamental principle of civil service reform a part of the Constitution of the state, and we now have an intelligent and readily workable law applicable to our state and municipal civil service; so that to-day it is literally true of every city within the state of New York that it is the fault of the people of the city if it does not have an honest and

well-administered public service. Yet, in 1880, when the movement for civil service reform was beginning in New York, partisan feeling ran so high that civil service reformers who were Democrats found it so difficult to unite with civil service reformers who were Republicans, and civil service reformers who were Republicans found it so difficult to unite with civil service reformers who were Democrats, that for a time a Civil Service Reform Association seemed impossible. It was seriously proposed that there should be two Civil Service Reform Associations, a Republican and a Democratic!

The movement for municipal reform has had a similar history. In 1881 I was living in Brooklyn. A new charter for the city had just been enacted, to go into effect January 1, 1882. Under it, the mayor, for the first time, had the absolute power of appointing the heads of departments, and during the first thirty days of his term the absolute power as well to remove any head of a department. The election of the first mayor under the new charter was to be held in November, 1881. Here was a notable opportunity for the people to exert some real power in the conduct of a city government through electing as mayor some one whom they really wanted. But how could the people be organized to avail themselves of this opportunity? The best citizens who were Republicans distrusted the Democrats, and the best citizens who were Democrats distrusted the Republicans, though each professed exactly the same political principles in municipal government. A Municipal Reform Republican Club had to be organized, which adopted a platform; and a Municipal Reform Democratic Club had to be organized, which adopted the same municipal platform. This was the nearest to political union in municipal matters that Republicans and Democrats could attain in 1881, even in Brooklyn, which was recognized as the most notable center of independence in politics in New York state. What a change since then! By 1894 we secured a constitutional provision which entirely separated municipal from state and national elections; another which divides our cities into well-defined classes and declares all city legislation to be "special" which affects only one city, or less than all the cities of the same class; another which compels all special city legislation to be passed a second time by the state Legislature, unless accepted by the local authorities after an opportunity for a public hearing in the city affected by the legislation.

The separation of local from national and state elections and the progress toward the adoption of uniform charters for cities of the same well-defined class, and the granting of enlarged powers of local self-government, have especial and most encouraging significance for those who have studied the causes of municipal misgovernment in this country. Aided by all the forces I have mentioned, and enlightened by the experiences of fifteen years of strenuous effort, the City of New York elected Mayor Strong; and for three years, from 1895 to 1898, his administration made great and, in some respects, most notable progress toward the betterment of our municipal conditions. But the political spoilsmen were not yet at the end of their resources. Greater New York was created, and the first Greater New York charter, a statutory

monstrosity beyond the power of words to describe, was inflicted upon the new city in spite of the protests and outspoken opposition of every organized body competent to express intelligent public opinion, including the historic Chamber of Commerce and the great Association of the Bar. Then the hungry hordes of Tammany, whose apt emblem is the tiger, and the bigoted Republican partisans, under the deft manipulation of the "Easy Boss," combined to place in the mayor's chair a creature in whom high official station excited uncontrollable impulses toward bad manners and buffoonery. For four years we bowed our heads in shame and weltered in the mire of municipal misgovernment and civic indecency, while the coarse and greedy over-lord of the Tammany vassals and their Republican accessories was, as he said, with brutal unconcern, "working for his pocket all the time." Then the reaction came. The blind partisanship through which the "Easy Boss" had wrought the city's shame had become enlightened, at least in part, by the demonstration that the minority party that would not stand for good city government was responsible for bad city government; and in the autumn of 1901 we elected our present mayor.

I wish there were time to tell you something of the achievements of the present administration of our city since it went into office on January 1 of last year,—how its Health Department, Tenement House Low Department and Charities Department have brought happiness and cheer into thousands of homes; how it is cleaning our streets and building schoolhouses; how it is adding millions to our revenues by being simply honest; is lowering our taxes by honest valuations of taxable property; yes, how it is even making good progress in cleaning out the Augean stables in the Police Department. Suffice it to say that there is not to-day, in the United States, a more enlightened, humane, progressive administration of public affairs than the one which is now blessing the people of the City of New York. And does not even this brief survey of what has been accomplished in the way of political betterment in New York, within the brief period since most of us came to manhood, afford good ground for political optimism, at least to a New Yorker?

It has always been a source of pride and satisfaction to me, as a New Yorker also, that New York was the birthplace of the ballot-reform movement in the United States. We have not yet attained there the ballot law to which the people are entitled, and it may be years before we do attain it; but do you doubt, after what I have told you, that we shall yet have that law? Whether you doubt or not, we know that we shall win. And, meantime, we have secured a really secret, though clumsy, ballot; the personal registration of all voters, even in our small cities; an honest, if cumbrous, count of all votes cast and an honest announcement of the count. Election day, with us, is a peaceful holiday. That these are no small achievements, let Pennsylvania bear witness. The worker in New York for the improvement of political conditions may, with good reason, be an optimist.

And every American citizen should be an optimist in politics. The char-

acteristic of the American mind which differentiates him from the Englishman, and still more, from the citizens of Continental Optimists in Europe, and the natives of the Orient, is its hospitality to Politics.

new ideas. Why is it that we are surpassing England and other countries in commerce and manufactures? It is because America welcomes a new way of doing an old thing if the new way is better. The American business-man is ready to throw into the scrap-heap the most sacred parts of his grandfather's machinery if they will not do the work as well as they ought to do it. This is the scientific spirit; the attitude of mind which is ready to test and to adopt new methods, which does not accept what the fathers did as necessarily the best and what the grandfathers said as the final word, which replaces traditionalism with intelligent experiment, which believes that things as they are are not necessarily the best possible things, that evils can be remedied and good can be made better.

American business men are the embodiment of the true scientific spirit—in the conduct of business. In political matters they are blind traditionalists, dense and even hostile to new ideas, mere puppets of shrewd political managers. In business, they have brains and use their brains; in politics, they are silly sentimentalists, whose easily aroused prejudices and fixed mental habitudes make them the easy victims of designing

politicians and often a dangerous obstacle in the path of political progress. It is hardly too much to say that business men as a class are the worst citizens of the town in which they live, and, with here and there an exception, the most successful business men, measured by the standard of pecuniary possessions, are the very worst of all. Unless Detroit is peculiarly fortunate, you gentlemen, sitting at these tables, who represent the wealth and business enterprises of Detroit, have among you a goodly number of the worst citizens of Detroit. This would be true of Philadelphia, of St. Louis, of Cincinnati, of every town I have investigated, and I will tell you why. You welcome a new idea in business, sometimes the most visionary, the most impractical, because there may be something good in it—you will, at least, examine it. But you do not welcome new ideas in politics, under any circumstances. You stick to your old ways; you turn down any man that suggests an improvement in political methods as a dreamer, an impractical visionary. You will not even take the trouble to examine into the proposed improvements, much less to try them. This is the very opposite of the course you pursue in business, or you would not succeed in business. There the scientific spirit, the open mind, controls. If you are a cloth manufacturer, neither respect for your grandfather's memory nor veneration for the honorable antiquity of his type of machinery makes you hesitate a moment to use a new and better machine to make cloth. If you are a dealer in grain, you do not hesitate to use the telephone and the telegraph, and to store the grain in elevators, because these are not the business methods of your grandfathers. You feel no shock to your prejudices, nor do you call yourselves visionaries or dreamers, when you replace the stage with the horse-car, the

horse-car with the trolley. You do not consider it sacrilege or lack of veneration for traditional methods when you use the hoisting engine instead of the sturdy legs of a hod-carrier. You are ready to abandon steam-power for electricity, if the result is better. In a word, in business you want results,—the best results,—and you constantly recognize that new circumstances, and conditions are continually requiring new appliances and new methods to produce the most desirable results. You know very well that the grandfathers' methods will not work in business; yet you business men are blindly adhering to the grandfathers' methods in politics. That is one main cause of our political troubles; you business men are still using the political appliances and methods of your grandfathers amid the stirring times and changed political conditions of to-day. You welcome new ideas that bring in better results in your business, but you repel new ideas that would change bad existing political conditions for better ones. You are turning yourselves over, bound hand and foot, to the political bosses of our cities, because you will not,—at any rate, you do not,—apply any portion of your brain force to the great business of city government.

What is needed in our cities is a government truly representative of the people of the cities, adapted to their local needs and honestly and efficiently administered. Why do we not have such a government? I will tell you. Because in political matters you business men follow the old political ruts, simply because they are old ruts; and because you think you are making more money by not paying any attention to politics. You are working for your own pockets all the time, without regard for the public interests. The political spoilsman but follow your bad example when they conduct the business of government with the same strong desire to fill their own pockets and with the same disregard for the public interests. You bestow the closest and most intelligent care upon your merchandizing and manufacturing. If anything goes wrong there, you are quick to discover and apply the remedy. Nor do you always assume that you necessarily know it all. You employ experts to expedite the discovery of the cause of the evil and make the remedy more complete; and, as your business grows larger and more complicated, you are willing to pay, and to pay liberally, to secure intelligence and honesty and competence in its conduct. But let any one suggest to you that in the great and complicated business of city government you need to apply the same principles, with the same alert, open-minded determination to find and use the best methods, you will neither take hold of the problem yourselves, nor intelligently back the efforts of the public-spirited citizen who does take hold. You call him a visionary, a dreamer, a fool. Now you are the fools. You are handling this municipal problem like the veriest babes. You don't get hold of it, because you don't put any brains into your political work, if, indeed, you do any conscious political work at all.

I said, a few moments ago, that what is needed in our cities is a government really representative of the people of the city, adapted to its local needs and honestly and efficiently administered. Isn't that what you want here in Detroit? Would you not say that it is in order to have such a

government that the city officials of Detroit are put in office? Do you think that merely holding elections and voting will give you such a city government? Not a bit of it. That is grandfathers' talk. You know very well that you will never get either representative or efficient government by merely voting.

The Needs of Our Cities.
Something makes your voting pretty nearly of no use for any such purpose. Yet you go on voting, voting, voting, like blind and dumb automata, as if there were no remedy. Do you think you are ever going to have a representative and honest and efficient city government so long as you follow such methods? There is not a business establishment in the town that could be run on any such plan. Yet the business men of a city could certainly control its business administration if they would but show the progressive, scientific spirit in dealing with city problems. You modern business men are abundantly endowed with this spirit in your business enterprises. You are scientists in business, as a matter of course. As scientists in business, it does not make any difference how long you have been following a wrong method, so soon as you find out that the method is wrong you stop following it. This is a primary, fundamental principle of conduct with all true scientists. But you approach a political question in exactly the opposite frame of mind. In politics, you are old-school creed bigots. You cannot take in a new political proposition or appreciate the need of new political methods; you talk about political questions and you look wise; but you let the old political methods go on, with their attendant dirt and filth, as if politics were necessarily dirty and filthy.

Gentlemen, you are the cause of the filth and dirt in politics. It is your fault if your politics are not clean and your city government not good. It is your disgrace that many of your city streets and alleys look as they do. Are your pride and self-respect as citizens of Detroit satisfied by comparing your streets with still more unsatisfactory ones in other cities? Why not find out the reason for their condition, and correct it? If you are sufficiently in earnest, if you have true civic pride, you will find out and you will secure the correction, and you will secure not only decent streets decently cared for, but decent city politics, clean and efficient city government. But you will never do this by following the old methods of vociferous partisanship and automatic voting.

If we are to have a good city government, we must have good citizens behind it, watchful of it and responsible for it; and a most important contribution to good citizenship would be the conversion of our business men into good citizens. If our business men are good citizens, we can have good government. We cannot have it if most of the brains in this country, of business men and politicians alike, are devoted to filling private pockets. We can have it if some of the intellect, the superb energy and ingenuity of our business men, is devoted to genuine study of our political conditions.

The responsibility upon you business men of Detroit, and the business men of other cities, is simply tremendous. Whether the municipal problem be worked out successfully in this country, and our cities become self-governing

communities of self-respecting citizens, whose local government shall be progressive, efficient, economical and truly representative of, and responsive to, the people of the locality, rests with the men of business. Do you say you haven't time for political work? What nonsense! Of course, you have time. It is disposition you lack. Do you attend personally to every detail of your own business? Certainly not. But you superintend it, and you use part of your money to pay experts in whom you have confidence to attend to the details, and you heed their advice. Do the same thing in politics. Make your Detroit Municipal League an institution that does things,—not like so many of the associations that merely discuss things,—and you will find a way to make Detroit a well-governed city, and city politics clean and wholesome. Buffalo is not Cincinnati, and Cleveland is not Detroit. Each must work out its own political salvation by methods adapted to the local conditions. And the business men can, if they choose, discover and apply the appropriate methods. The politics of a town depend upon the business men of the town; the character of its government upon the civic qualities of its business men. These are truths I wish to impress upon you, and this is the message I leave with you.

Do you ask me whether, in spite of the dark lines in the political picture I have drawn, I am still an optimist? I answer, Why not? Could we ever have secured the progress we have made in Civil Service Reform, in Ballot Reform, in Municipal Reform, if the American people had not possessed, to a marked degree, the open mind in politics, the scientific spirit hospitable to new ideas? Have we not made also a very considerable step forward during the last decade in the direction of a much-needed reform in our methods of making nominations to public elective office? And is not your presence here to-night, and numerous similar gatherings in other cities, evidence that our business men are beginning to find out that it is not good citizenship merely to make money for themselves and leave the great business of government to be managed by the incompetent or the dishonest?

THE TOASTMASTER: The next upon the programme is "The Attitude of Public Officials," to which it was hoped Hon. William C. Maybury would respond, but as the Mayor is unable to be present, I am happy to say that we shall have the pleasure of hearing from our friend and his friend, Mr. David E. Heineman, upon the subject. The city could do worse than to enable him some time to respond to that toast as mayor.

MR. HEINEMAN: Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, Delegates and the Worst Citizens of Detroit:—After what has been said I feel that all of us will want to take a train for Lansing. It might be some inducement, if I were in politics, to have our toastmaster undertake, as he has just undertaken, to nominate me for public office. This is not the first time that Dr. Angell has undertaken to do something of the same sort. It was not many years ago that he conferred upon me the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy, and upon that assumption he gave me a parchment, and, though I have no philosophy, I must plead guilty to being a bachelor. His nomination then gave me the privilege of enjoying all the honors and the immunity and dignities

of an alumnus; and when I stop to think what those honors, immunities and dignities were, I take very lightly the fact that he has put me in nomination for mayor of the city.

I am here by request of his Honor, the Mayor, to say a very brief word in his behalf. The Mayor came to my office this evening and said, "Mr. Heineman, I want you to help me out." He said that he had been out four successive nights, retiring between the hours of 12 and 1 o'clock, and was almost on the verge of nervous break-down; and on your behalf I gave him my sympathy and told him how readily I could understand that it might bring a man to the edge of nervous decline to go to bed four successive nights between 12 and 1 when he had been for many weeks going to bed between 3 and 4; so I promised to take his place.

Now, you gentlemen who are delegates to this convention had a taste of the eloquence of our mayor at your meeting for some fifteen minutes, and I think you can readily understand how inadequate I am to take his place. I don't believe I will undertake to say anything about the duties allotted to the mayor, for I should be in a worse position than the Earl of Derby who President Angell has told us about.

Being here as the representative of the mayor, I don't know but I ought to say something about the good name of the city. I don't know but that one or two little remarks that have passed ought in some respect to be taken official notice of, and if I am to serve The Attitude of Public Officials. my city in the position of mayor perhaps I should take it upon myself to investigate one or two of those evils that have been mentioned. I think something has been said about standard time. I hasten to explain that the sun is twenty-five minutes ahead of standard time, and we are twenty-five minutes ahead of the standards good enough for other cities. [Applause.]

I understand the secretary of this League has lost his watch and has no time at all, and that the one who took it, when he discovered the loss in time, tried to make it good by going through the treasurer of the association. All I can say to this League is that I believe the first thing they ought to do is to put the treasurer under bonds, and, in case the secretary's watch is not found in a few days, to give him an elegant new timepiece in its place.

Now, a word about the pavements. We pride ourselves upon our pavements; and I ought, perhaps, to say that when we found these gentlemen Detroit's Pavements. were coming here we had a few holes picked in our asphalt and a few bricks removed from our brick pavements to make the gentlemen from other cities feel more at home, but they will be repaired again as soon as they are gone. [Applause.]

We confess to the tremendous work that has been done by organizations of this kind. Our local Municipal League has been largely responsible for the primary election reform we enjoy in this city. A few years ago there was an attempt to have our legislature enact a civil service law

for this city. I was a member of the legislature at the time, and as much as we could do with the bill was to get it printed. The common council of this city would not even pass a resolution requesting the legislature to pass a civil service act for the City of Detroit.

In behalf of the mayor, who has already extended an earnest and sincere welcome on the part of the people of the City of Detroit, I wish to say we do not now slam the door upon you, but that door remains open, and we hope you will come here soon again.

We rejoice in your optimism as expressed here to-night and all through your deliberations. We have accomplished many things in the past few years, and we believe the problems involving our water-works department and street railways are not insurmountable, and we will succeed in solving these things; by reason of my optimism I refer to the motto on our city seal, and hope for better things. We are in the line of a better civic life, and let us hope that the light we see before us upon the horizon is, indeed, the light of the rising sun. [Applause.]

THE TOASTMASTER: The remarks of Mr. Heineman about late hours reminds me of a story that came to me in Constantinople, which is rather amusing. A man of indulgent life who had been minister to St. Petersburg one time sat up all night in Constantinople, and was asked a few weeks after how he liked the life in Constantinople. Well, he said, he liked it pretty well on the whole, but it was the dullest place between two and four in the morning he had ever lived in.

There is one influence in behalf of these reforms that I think has hardly been sufficiently recognized in the papers and speeches which I have listened to, and that perhaps because everybody assumes that it is a great power on the right side,—and that is the power of the American press. As far as I know, with the rarest exceptions, the great journals are always in favor of what is right. The great journals of New York and the great journals of Chicago, and, as far as I know, of the principal cities, are, as a rule, strongly and most powerfully in favor of the great objects which this League represents, and I need hardly say that there is no other power in this country which is wielding such an influence in the right direction as the American press. I am very glad thus to preface my introduction of the gentleman who is well known as the editor of the most influential journal in the Northwest, upon the subject assigned him, the "Advancement of Public Sentiment," Dr. Amos Parker Wilder, of Madison, Wisconsin.

DR. WILDER: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen.—My train has already gone, and I am in no hurry. I am in the position of another man who found himself well toward midnight at the end of the list, when the presiding officer finally said, "We will now listen to Mr. Jones' address." Mr. Jones got up and said, "My address is 211 West 16th street, and I bid you good-night."

I was pleased to meet here for the first time the distinguished presiding officer, whose name is about as familiar in our section as Adams' Express Company. As I look on his face I understand the secret of his power. In

that face is civic patriotism that fits him to preside over such a gathering. In that face is courage which would make him a central figure at a gathering of elders and deacons, and in that face is sculptured that bucolic piety which would enable him to preside over a farmers' institute without fear or protection.

These impulses and convictions of our people, which we rightly regard as fundamental to our national life and safeguards of it, trace back to hidden sources. National sentiments are but the fruitage of the sentiment of the individual citizen and the individual home. The resisting power of our people against invasion, tyranny, either of capital or labor, or against corroding corruption, is no mere incident of organized life, but a heritage from the days of Washington and before—paid for with a price, and one which must be diligently cultivated, or our national life will suffer and even decay. * * *

But I would more concretely relate these primal sentiments in the human heart to which we all respond to the play of national sentiments on which so much depends. I never visit a great city—Chicago, San Francisco, New York—without asking myself some-
Primal and National Sentiments. what in terror, "What forces hold together so seemingly disorganized a mass?"

The homogeneity of the farm districts makes the governmental problem simple; in village and small city the "aristoi" of the Greeks—the dominance of intellect and good sense—finds easy play; but transfer yourself quickly from the peace and order of the country to Chicago at mid-day, with its crowds, the noise, the loss of identity, the disorder, the chaos, the regnant vice, the lowering looks of men and women to whom Washington is not even a name, and the strange tongues of a generation of children who seemingly know not that Abraham Lincoln lived or that Christ died—what cohesive power binds that incongruous company together? Knowing how thin a veneer civilization imposes on savagery, what assures order in that maelstrom; what safeguards property, restrains the powerful, and checks the desperate man from springing at the throat of his neighbor; what protects your women from the despoiler; what voice of authority is great enough to silence that tumult and bring man out from chaos long enough for reason to quiet him and virtue to direct him?

It is a mighty question with cities of massing populations of seventy nationalities and multiplying complexities, economic and social, until the wildest theory of government and the most abhorrent teaching of sociology can gain a hearing. It is a question to which men who love their country cannot too intently address themselves. Happily there is a relief and a safeguard, and it lies in the unawed, all-compelling, invincible authority of an honest man. One shall chase a thousand and two shall put ten thousand to flight. It lies, too, in the household virtues in the mass of men; the fear of God, obedience to the Constitution, the love of the flag, deference to authority, and the entrusting of that authority to men of whom it may be said as Fox said of Washington in the British parliament: "Illustrious man! Deriving less honor

from the splendor of his situation than from the dignity of his mind, beside whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance and princes and potentates of Europe become contemptible." You can't have deference to authority, my countrymen, not even from a reasonable people,—to say nothing of the festering garrets of a great city,—without giving the authority to mayors and aldermen and all rulers who will not abuse it.

I care not how convulsed the hugest city; let passions rage as they will; let discontent and even a sense of injustice brood over the city,—give us but

The Power of Newspapers. one or two newspapers that speak the truth; give us a few preachers who have the courage of Jeremiah, who yet translate the reasonableness of the Nazarine to men, all of whom he said are brothers. Most of all, give us one citizen whose daily walk and conversation in the market place have so won his fellows that when he lifts his hand they listen; give us even this sparse leadership over a people who know the history of their country and understand its principles of self-government, and your city is safe in the darkest hour. There is no storm it cannot weather; there is no appeal to which it will not listen; the mob melts away at midnight before the dawn, to attest by toil, order and duty how sound is American life at the core.

I had a revelation recently of the deep things in American life that cheered me. I was riding on a street car on one of the avenues of lower Broadway. The confusion and the noise of the street were terrific. Crowds surged about me. I remember looking over the faces of my fellow passengers, old and young, rich and poor, native and foreign, huddled together. It seemed a selfish, wolfish company, with something of desperation in it—with no ties to bind it, no charm to sweeten it. Each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. Outside were the piled temples of wealth, in hopeless contrast with the shabby evidences of starvation and crime. And these were Americans! On this sorry foundation rests the government that Washington conceived and our own Lincoln preserved. It was a heartsick feeling, and my cowardly thought was, at least the fabric will hold together until I and mine live out our days. When suddenly the scene changed. Clang! clang! clang! sounded the sharp, clear notes of a gong. What new confusion is this? Nearer it came, louder the alarm. "Make way! It's the ambulance!"—and lo, on that chaotic scene, as by the touch of an angel's hand, fell the silence of evening. Our car stopped; the cars in advance and in the rear paused; cab drivers and draymen ceased their revilings; the sidewalk processions halted—and as we looked a light vehicle with the right of way dashed through the heart of New York—trade, commerce, all else yielding to the cry of our common humanity. We

Underlying Sympathy and Love. could see a figure robed in white, prostrate, helpless, with men of healing at her feet, hurrying to some port of mercy. And as I looked, lo, the faces of my fellow passengers, that before had seemed so cold and dull and selfish, were aglow with sympathy and fraternal love; and I said, not those but these are my countrymen for whom Washington suffered at Valley Forge, and for whom were fought the battles of the Wilderness.

And, as if to burn deep the lesson to love my native land and to trust my fellows, in the stillness there floated to our ears from the playground of a public school—it must have been sung by Jew and Gentile, by the children of sunny Italy, from the far East, and the islands of the sea,—

" My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of Liberty,
Of thee I sing.
Land where our fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrim's pride,
From every mountain side
Let Freedom ring."

The safety of our republic, gentlemen, the soundness of our national sentiments, lies in instilling truth and honor into our youth, in the home, the school, and the church. It lies in the knowledge of our system; the prevalence of honesty; obedience to the Old Testament doctrine—to "speak the truth each man to his neighbor." With a flood of such Americans pouring into the professions, into the varied occupations of life, into the voting booths and to posts of official action, there is no problem we cannot solve. The negro shall rise to the altitudes to which Frederick Douglas, Dubois, and Booker T. Washington beckon him. Your canals shall be dug—who can measure the resources of a country that in a twelve-month produces a billion dollars in corn; half a billion in wheat, and even of potatoes, \$135,000,000? Monopoly will shun a clime in which the right of eminent domain is so liberal. And with privilege fettered, with discrimination eliminated, the ancient and honorable laws of supply and demand will be re-enacted in the legislature of public necessity. When it is proposed about the mahogany table of some directory to oppress toil or to arbitrarily advance the price of some necessity to the poor, at least one voice of some modern Joseph of Arimathea will bravely cry out, "I protest!" On the other hand, with every right to labor to organize, to strike, if it wish, to advance in every way the beneficent principle of combination, the concern that elects to deal with labor as individuals, the laborer who chooses to sell his toil and work out his destiny as an individual, must be let alone, though it be necessary to engage in his behalf the best legal talent by citizen subscription, though every court be invoked, though every timid sheriff be driven into obloquy, though every cowardly newspaper be made contemptible, and though about the non-union factory and the so-called "scab" workingman and his little children glisten the protecting bayonets of the full-armed forces of the United States government.

I conclude as I began. If sentiment be kept aglow in a man—the fraternal instinct, a passion for liberty, the love of nature and delight in the simple things of life—he will continue sane, honest and brave. So, too, the people whose roots are deep in virtue and intelligence will be found wholesome and trustworthy in any experience. Goethe said of a friend: "He carried into matured manhood the illusions of his youth." As we do this, we make the best men and the best Americans.

THE TOASTMASTER:—I am sure we can not do better than to part with these words resting like a benediction upon us.

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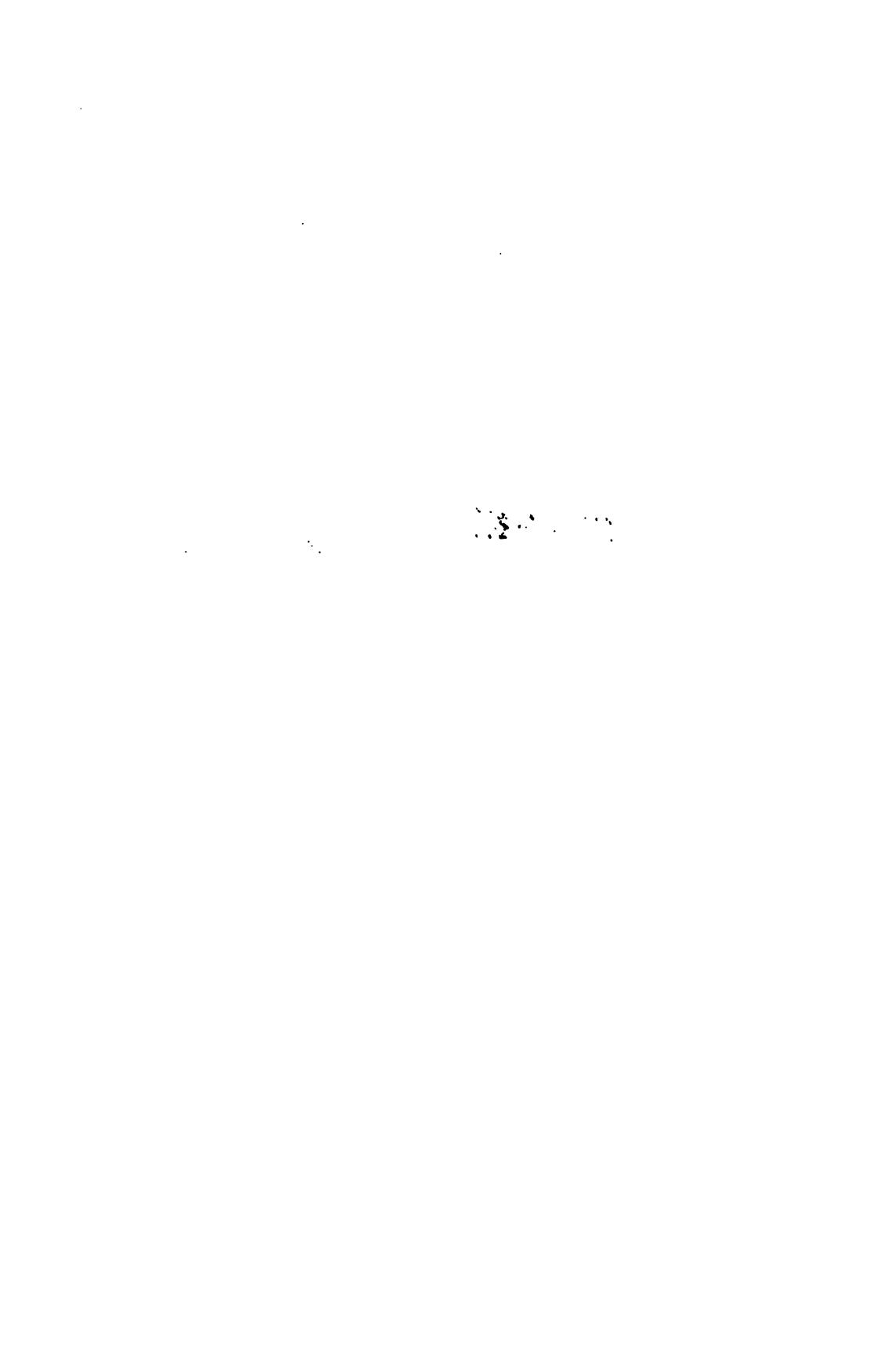
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